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ENGLAND AND INDIA:

BEING IMPRESSIONS OF

Persons and Things, English and Indian, and
Brief Notes of Visits to France,
Switzerland, Italy,
and Ceylon:

BY

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PREFACE.

This is a reprint, with many additions and some alterations, of what appeared in the *Indian Spectator* some time ago, the additions being chiefly from notes made in Europe when I was there, but which it was not thought desirable to publish at first. Whilst the papers were appearing in the *Indian Spectator*, I was greatly pleased to find some of my views quoted with approval by persons who are not generally agreed on Indian matters, and it was even more gratifying to see such kindly notices taken by friends both in India and in England of what were merely first impressions. The form in which the notes are now published will, I hope, prove more acceptable to all who wish a better state of feeling, more cordial relations and more sympathy to exist between Europeans and Indians. What I have said of the characteristics of modern Europe will, I think, make the desire of Indians for progress keener, while my remarks on things Indian will make the Europeans know and appreciate us better. My notes on the Governments of France and England were made when the Conservatives were in power in the latter country, and they will, I hope, not only show the great superiority of the British Government over those of modern Europe, but also what Indians require to possess before they could fully utilize the privileges claimed from the Government of their country. They will also show that the reformers will have to count as much upon the sympathy of the Government of India as on that of friends in England, in order to carry out the necessary reforms in its constitutions. In my account of my presentation to Her Majesty the Queen, I have indicated her position as a Constitutional Sovereign, as well as described the love and respect Her Majesty enjoys from her subjects, in order to furnish her example as a guide to such of our Indian Princes as have not yet followed it.

My short sketch of the literary activity and the Press of both countries, will show the great importance of the boon which Indians possess in a free Press, and how they can use it to the best advantage. In describing the state of English Law and the English Courts, and comparing them with Indian Law and Indian Courts, I have attempted to show the advantage which we possess over the former country in this respect, an advantage which ought to be greater if the necessary law and police reforms suggested are

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carried out. My descriptions of the influence of English Universities as well as of the state of education in England, will show what reforms are necessary in our Indian system of education, in order that our Schools, and Colleges and Universities may send out men better fitted for the struggles of the world. The paper on religion, without pretending to be anything but the roughest outline of Hinduism and Christianity, will show that neither true Hinduism nor true Christianity is at all responsible for the modern degeneration of the followers of either, and that true Hinduism is not very different from true Christianity. My accounts of industrial England and of a few places I visited on the Continent will show the vast resources of modern Europe and how it keeps itself abreast in the race for progress. I have lately had the advantage of a trip to Ceylon, and my notes of what I saw in that little Island will, I hope, induce many more of our countrymen to visit it. I assure them that the visit will be one of both pleasure and profit. Ceylon is gradually coming to the front as the greatest tea supplier of the world, and while it will be a pleasure to the Indian tourist to roam through its lovely scenery, he will find much to think of on the present state of the Budhistic religion professed by a large portion of its inhabitants, how the tenets of one of the noblest and the greatest of Indian reformers, who inculcated the nobleness of suffering, have now degenerated into forms and ceremonial.

It has been a great pleasure to me to make and publish these notes, and if they help Indians and Europeans to know each other better, I shall think myself amply rewarded. My grateful acknowledgments are due to a distinguished scholar and a very dear friend, Mr. T. W. Arnold of the M. A. O. College, Aligarh, for the many valuable suggestions received during the course of revision of these papers. I should also record here my sense of gratitude to the Prince in whose company I travelled in Europe and but for whose kind assistance I would never have seen so much in the short time at my disposal.

BAIJNATH.

AGRA,
June, 1893.

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CONTENTS.

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ENGLAND AND INDIA:
BEING IMPRESSIONS OF THINGS
ENGLISH AND INDIAN.

CHAPTER I.

Voyage to Europe. France and its principal Towns.

The Voyage.

It is now-a-days the ambition—the dream of every educated Indian, to pay a visit to the home of his rulers, to those lands of civilization and liberty of which he has read so much, or which he wishes his own country to come up to. So I left for Europe one April morning, and after completing my little outfit in steamy and high-prices-loving Bombay, embarked on board the *Rohilla,* one of the P. & O. vessels. The P. & O. are generally very attentive to their customers; especially first class passengers; and your wants are all plentifully supplied. Their cabins, though somewhat narrow, are yet convenient and airy, and beds, blankets, soap, life belts, drinking water, towels and chairs complete the furniture. Their upper decks have good accommodation for lounging, walking, reading, smoking, singing, playing, doing anything else. They are kept so perfectly clean, rubbed, scrubbed and swept fifty times a day. The whole arrangement of their vessels is characterized by an amount of methodical exactness which is truly wonderful. Everything goes on like clockwork without the slightest hitch, as if officers and men were all parts of a well-regulated machine which the Captain watched, but did not interfere with except when necessary; and no better advice can be offered to an Indian venturing on a sea voyage for the first time than to choose a P. & O. ship for his journey.

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Being a vegetarian, I thought I should find some difficulty in having good meals on board the steamer, but they seemed to understand natives, and I was agreeably surprised in being provided with good fruits, rice, sweets, milk, bread, etc., and had nothing to complain of in the shape of incivility or want of attention. This was my first experience of the sea and it was necessary to reconcile myself to the absence of certain home comforts, but I remembered that the great secret of making one's self comfortable anywhere lies in adapting one's self to a new way of life as soon as possible.

Our fellow-passengers were all Anglo-Indians, going home on leave or on pleasant deputations. Many of them were rather reserved and exclusive, but there was none of that air of superiority or patronage which is so often complained of in India. Some of them conversed freely and made friends with their Native fellow passengers; otherwise their lives on board the ship consisted of breakfast, lunch, dinner, cards, dominoes, novel reading, lounging, cigar smoking and walking up and down the decks. Sundays were enlivened by the Captain taking muster or holding service; and cool and calm evenings by ladies obliging their fellow passengers with a song or a tune.

We reached Aden about the sixth day, and the first to greet our arrival were Somali boys from the neighbouring coast of Africa. They had shining black negro-like faces and showed their cleverness by diving for two-anna pieces we threw into the sea and bringing them up in their mouths. They rowed in tiny little boats of the frailest description, out of which they jumped into the sea with extraordinary agility, shouting out all the time "Bakhshish," "Bakhshish," and otherwise chattering like so many monkeys.

Aden.

Aden is not a large or a prepossessing place; there is a look of poverty and misery and ruffianism everywhere; not many trees, nor much life in the place. The tanks are, however, an oasis in this desert. They were built in the time of the Pharaohs and could store

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millions of gallons of water. They are now repaired, but when we saw them they were all dry. It does not rain every year in Aden. What a terrible place to live in! The streets and bazars would not do credit to even a third rate Indian town. Yet Aden is the gate of India and very important for purposes of defence. It is for this reason that it is a naval and military station and a Political Agent resides there. The only decent buildings besides those of European officials, are those of the few Parsi merchants that live there, otherwise the place is not worth a visit even for the time the ship anchors there.

The Suez Canal.

We now entered the Red Sea with its suffocating heat through the Straits of Babel Mandeb, which the sailors call the "Gates of Hell", and passed desert islands, wrecks of steamers, coral reefs, etc., till we reached Suez, and entered the Canal. It takes a full day and night to do these 86 miles. The Canal is one of the greatest engineering works of modern times, not because it is larger than the Ganges or any other similarly large canal in India, but on account of the peculiar difficulties which the desert on both sides presented in opening a passage for ships between two seas. Both England and France are deeply interested in it not only for its commercial importance, but also because of the large amount of capital invested by either nation, and it was a stroke of diplomacy on the part of Lord Beaconsfield to have bought in so large a number of its shares in order to have a preponderating influence in its management. The existence of the Canal is one of the main reasons why England exercises its protectorate over Egypt. Formerly vessels used to pass through it by day only, but under recent arrangements those which carry electric light are allowed to pass by night also. The average time for the latter class of vessels is about 24 hours, the reason being that they have to wait at stations, often for many hours, in order to have the road clear. How vast is the traffic through the Canal, will be seen from the fact that in one year alone the P. and O. Company paid £ 240,000 for Canal dues!

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The Canal is some 200 feet wide and 28 feet deep, and can barely hold two steamers abreast. There are stations at intervals of four or five miles, and dredger boats are continuously employed to prevent its being choked up. It has now shortened the route to Europe by 5,000 miles.

We got to Port Said in the morning and found ourselves in quite an ethnological museum of races and people, though not generally of the best sort. Port Said is always full of vessels discharging or taking cargo, or waiting to pass through the Canal. Men-of-War of all nations, emigrant ships and troopers all meet here, and the sight is extremely interesting.

The Mediterranean.

Leaving Port Said, you leave Asia behind; you are in European waters when you enter the Mediterranean. This we found rather rough, and two days of pitching and tossing brought us to Crete where St. Paul was wrecked. The coast of Italy with its fine villas, farms, two-storied houses, villages and fields arranged in beautiful slopes, passed in a panorama before us; while the coast of Sicily with its famous volcano, the town and the Straits of Messina where the sea is only three miles broad, the historical Scylla on the Italy, and Charybdis on the Sicily side, those dreads of mariners, were all very interesting to us. Stamboli with its volcano now became visible, and the sight of the lava and ashes pouring out of its crater excited feelings of horror. Another day, and our troubles were over, and we reached Marseilles on the 18th day of our journey, glad at having escaped the storms of the waves, the dangers of the rocks, and the troubles of sea-sickness.

LA BELLE FRANCE.

Marseilles.

The first thing that strikes a foreigner is the order and cleanliness and beauty of a French town, the love of art and sentiment which is here so universal, the splendidly shaded walks and the numerous cafés to be met with. It looks as if the Frenchman had not

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much serious business to think of, so largely is he found in the galleries, the restaurants, the walks or the promenades. He does not look so strong or healthy as the Englishman, but there is a delicacy and refinement about him which is somewhat wanting in people of sterner climes. The climate of France is much colder than that of India, but there is not that foggy suffocating atmosphere which gets into your lungs in London. Nature and art are both favourable to the Frenchman. His houses have a handsomeness about them which is seldom found in even the best houses in India, and whether in the hotel or in the private house of a gentleman, comfort and convenience and elegance are the first consideration.

Religion has been everywhere a great stimulant of art, and France is no exception. Marseilles, which dates from the Phoenician times, boasts of many a good and imposing building. From the *Notre Dame de la Garde* (the Cathedral of the Watching Virgin), which is in the shape of a fortress, and is surmounted by a figure of the Virgin with the child, you get a fine view of this city. The background of the view is set off with hills and trees. Frenchmen make vows to the Virgin for escape from disasters, and many a plate and shield is found in churches commemorating these escapes. There is another Cathedral in Marseilles which they have been building for thirty-seven years and which will take half as many more to complete. This magnificent building, with its splendid mosaics, is finished like a jewel. Every detail is conscientiously studied.

There is yet a third building which Marseilles is rightly proud of. It is the *Palais-de Long-Champ*, with a beautiful cascade coming out of the mouths of two bulls, who look as if they had just come out of their bath. Unlike our Presidency towns, even provincial towns in France have their little galleries. That in Marseilles has some good pictures, for one of which so large a sum as a million francs has been offered! In the evenings the parks with their long avenues are very fine: you don't see anything like it in India.

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Perhaps it is the French only who are so much devoted to the beautiful.

Lyons.

The country from Marseilles to Lyons is rocky but full of trees, lawns, and avenues. Almost all the houses have tiled roofs and each has its tiny garden in front. Instead of using unsightly shrubs to plant on borders of fields, they plant cypress trees. Not one inch of uncultivated ground is seen anywhere, even the banks of the rivers have been transformed into beautiful slopes. French rivers are not at all so broad as the Ganges, or the Narbadda. To me they appeared to be more like large canals cut from Indian rivers.

A railway journey is not a very comfortable thing in France. They have no sleeping or bath-room accommodation, not even for first class passengers. The speed of their trains is almost equal to that of our Indian trains, but their waiting-rooms are worse than those on large railway stations in India. Their retiring-rooms would beat any third-class Indian railway station in point of uncleanliness. I could not understand this. If you want to stretch your legs you must take a coupé or a pullman car by paying extra. These pullman cars are very comfortable; you get good sleeping and bath-room and every other accommodation.

Lyons between the Rhone and the Saone is even prettier and cleaner than Marseilles. The city is of great antiquity, and I was much interested in finding here the remains of Roman vases, utensils, pillars and other relics of the time when Rome ruled Lyons. At the present time Lyons is a great place for silks and supplies them to the whole world. In M. Camel's factory I was shown quite a new process for silk spinning. After the cacoons are boiled and all impurities removed, six of them are placed in water and a thread from each attached to a spindle, six of which are worked at the same time, turning out a pound and half of silk during the day. I also visited the dyeing works of M. Gillet et fils, which employ more than a thousand people, and dye silks brought from all parts of Europe. Cloth and

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thread are both dyed here by machinery, the process being similar to, though on a much larger scale than, that employed in the Sassoon Silk Mills at Bombay. What surprised me however, was the beauty and finish of the colours. Some crapes they showed me were so fine that the hand could scarcely feel them.

But it is the silk and velvet tapestry of Lyons that are most wonderful. Mr. Giraud makes flowered silks and tapestries more highly priced than the best Indian *Kinkhabs.* The artists who work the looms are all skilled and practised hands, remembering with great minuteness every shade and colour of every thread in the pattern; otherwise they could never produce such exact designs, light for light and shade for shade. Their wages are from 3 to 15 francs a day, and they produce something like three-fourths of a yard in the working hours. Their ground is silk or satin, and all sorts of threads, including gold and silver, are employed to produce those delicate designs which are often seen in European palaces, but never in those of India.

At Lyons I had my first experience of an inclined railway drawn by ropes. A stationary engine has a large wheel driven by steam. A rope is wound round this wheel and its other end is attached to a train, as the latter is set in motion, the rope passes from one side of the wheel to the other. Two trains are thus worked, whilst one goes up, the other is let down.

LOVELY PARIS:

First Impressions.

So the Frenchman calls his capital, and he is right in doing so. No town in Europe is so full of splendid buildings, or shows so much beauty. Even the ordinary native of India has heard of it, and often enquires whether Paris houses and Paris roads are made of crystal! Certain it is that Paris is not only the capital of France, but the centre of the artistic, scientific, commercial, and industrial life of the French nation. Its

great feature is, however, its love of articles of luxury of all kinds. Its decorative arts influence the whole of Europe, and there are no traces of the ravages of the Communists nor of the troubles of the Franco-Prussian war of 1870, except in the great Panoramas, so common in this city. From the period of Louis XIV. down to the present day, in spite of all that threatened its very existence, it has, like Dehli, been on a march of progress, and Frenchmen say with just pride, that their city is the most cosmopolitan of all Europe, their University attracts students from other countries on account of the high scholastic character of its teaching, and their galleries and museums are the resort of all lovers of the beautiful from every part of the world. It is a pleasure to walk along its streets. The great Boulevards, with their imposing buildings, fine avenues, attractive shops, brisk traffic, thousands of vehicles passing every hour, have nothing to surpass them in Europe or Asia. The streets are paved with wood, the footpaths with asphalt; along these are small stalls for sale of newspapers; at intervals are places for sale of soda water, lemonade, etc. The *Avenue de la Opera*, which is the name of one of the principal streets of Paris and towards which five other broad streets converge, presents in the evening a very animated scene, and to a student of human nature very instructive. One does not often see such large numbers of unfortunate women addressing passers-by here as one sometimes does along the fashionable streets of London. The streets are very broad, something like the *Chandni Chauk* of Dehli, though much more animated.

Place de la Republique.

A walk to the *Place de la Republique* brings you to one of the finest squares in this fine city. This square has a statue of the Republic holding an Olive Branch, supported by figures of Liberty, Fraternity and Equality; the pedestal is adorned with bronze medallions representing scenes from French history. Further on a mount up the *Colonne de la Bastille* gives you a good idea of what Paris is like. This column is 150 feet high and has medallions of Justice, Strength, Freedom, etc.

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The presence of so many allegorical statues argues a good deal of poetic feeling on the part of the French.

Parisian Panoramas.

In Paris we saw some *Grand Panoramas.* The defence of the Bastille is represented in a way that almost deceives you into a belief that it is a reality. Nobody would believe that the smoke issuing from the Bastille, or the soldiers forcing their way, or the Governor handing the paper of surrender, or the town with its streets strewn with the dead and the wounded, were merely pieces of painted canvas.

Musée Grevin.

Madame Tussaud's wax-works in London have found a better and fresher substitute in the *Musée Grevin* of Paris. The figures and their costumes are so real as to deceive the most practised eye. The President of the French Republic receiving a ministerial deputation on the 1st of January, the arrest of a French Police Officer on the German frontiers, the suppression of the Nihilists, or Napoleon at Moscow, are too faithful to be taken for mere wax.

Bibliothèque Nationale.

The *Bibliothèque Nationale,* which is the national library of France, contains two-and-a-half millions of volumes, the book-cases alone would occupy a continuous line for thirty-five miles. You are here in the presence of weird faces busily taking notes from the volumes on the shelves. Here I had the pleasure of seeing manuscripts of Montesquieu, Voltaire, Racine, Louis XIV., Charles V. and other celebrities. The oldest manuscript dates from the fifth century. Oriental languages are not unrepresented, and manuscripts of Nizami, the Mahabharata and the Diwan-i-Hafiz are not wanting. Their collection of coins and medals is said to be the most complete of its kind; and I was astonished to find how great was their love of the antique or the curious. My visit to the Library induced some French papers to mistake me for a prince and call me a poet, statesman, lawyer and other names!

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The *Palais Royal*, which used to be the residence of the French Kings, and which like other public buildings in Paris, has undergone many vicissitudes, is now used by the Council of State. Its galleries contain cafés and fashionable jewellers' shops. Its garden, though small, is very beautiful and the figure of *Youth bathing* very charming. It is now used by the French State Council; and this is the reason why it is not shown to the public.

Palais Royal.

Paris possesses one of the finest museums in the world, which is called the *Louvre.* As I am not a Baedekar or a Bradshaw, I do not mean to give details of the treasures it contains in the shape of Egyptian, Greek, Roman and mediæval antiquities. It contains also a large gallery of pictures in which we saw representatives of each of the greatest schools of painting of mediæval and modern Europe. The works of living French painters are not to be found in this gallery, but in that of the *Luxembourg* or the *Palais de l'Industrie,* where an annual exhibition is held. One thing which however struck me as a non-professional, was the great partiality which painters of the modern French School have for painting the nude figure. These paintings may be done with consummate skill and great ability, the form may be perfect, and the outline graceful, yet there is a look of sensuousness about them which is never very elevating. Sentiment or allegory, more than real every day life or every day scenes, appears to have great a charm with these people.

Louvre.

In the gallery of *Luxembourg,* which comprises works of living painters, there are several remarkable pictures. The Siege of Corinth by Robert Henry in which the conquerors coming in, the women seized for being sold as slaves and the men murdered, are most effectively represented, is one. Another masterpiece of French art is the *Orgies of the late Romans on the Decline of the Roman Empire* by Couture. "This picture represents the end of a midnight orgy in the pale light of morning.

Luxembourg Gallery.

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Around the saloon are statues of illustrious Romans, who witness the degradation of their degenerate posterity. One of the most intoxicated of the party carries his cup to the lips of a statue, thus rendering the insult more marked. The others are lying with drooping heads, hanging arms, relaxed muscles, inert and somnolent, vanquished by vice: they, whose ancestors had vanquished the world. Wine and courtezans have proved more powerful than the barbarians"! *.

In India painting and sculpture have declined, and strangely enough, in a nation of worshippers of concrete representation. If Raphael or Michael Angelo had been living here, they would have been deified.

Place de la Concorde.

The French have a love of ornamenting their parks and gardens with fine statuary, and their walks and fountains as well as many of the squares of the city are well set off with many exquisite statues. As an instance may be mentioned the *Place de la Concorde,* a place that has undergone many vicissitudes, has changed names several times, has witnessed the execution of Louis XVI. and three thousand other persons. It is the finest square in the world. Its entrance is guarded by statues representing Marseilles, Lyons, Nantes, etc. Its centre is beautified by two extremely handsome fountains supported by the great French rivers, seas, and the great French industries. In the evenings when the fountains are at work, it is charming; by gas light it is more so. Close by is the Champs Elysees, a drive along which is very enjoyable, and on season evenings you see here the beauty and fashion of the French Metropolis. The place is flanked by several gardens, full of cafés and music halls, those favourite places of resort of the middle classes. In your drives you could not fail to notice the coquettish element. The French-woman is not so buxom nor that picture of ruddy health as her sister on the other side of the Channel is. But there is a certain delicacy and refinement about her which would strike you at once.

* Baedekar's Guide to Paris, p. 242.

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Arc de Triomphe and Bois de Boulogne.

Leaving the Champs Elysées, and passing the *Arc de Triomphe*, the largest arch in existence, and a record of Napoleon's victories, with a figure of France destroying Error and Prejudice, you come to the *Bois de Boulogne*, the favourite promenade of the Parisians and now no longer the resort of the duellist or the bad character, but of young people on their honey-moons. Its trees, regattas, avenues and water-falls, all remind you of a forest in the midst of a large town. Only Frenchmen could do it. Close by is the Jardin d' Acclimitation with its model farm, containing large cows. One of them measuring 4½ feet high yielded about twenty quarts of good rich milk. They were all very healthy and strong; a lesson by the way to the worshippers of the cow in India.

Gobelin Tapestry.

Not only in painting or sculpture, but in tapestry too the French are unsurpassed. The *Gobelin Tapestry* is a good example. It is a Government concern designed to keep up a falling industry. The artists are hereditary, though they have to pass a certain test. They receive about a hundred and seventy-five pounds a year, and work with no less than 14,000 threads. Their designs are very skilful and exact. The subjects are mostly allegorical, such as "Bad Weather in April," "Science and Art," "The Art of Printing," etc. The design to be produced is placed in front, and light and shade and figure are then produced in exact imitation of this design. If one thread goes wrong, the whole has to be done anew.

Notre Dame.

First among the churches in Paris is the historical *Notre Dame* founded in the 12th century. Owing to the lowness of its situation, the absence of spires and the fact of its being surrounded by lofty buildings, the general effect of the place is not at all in keeping with its renown. Its facade has however some fine sculptures representing among other subjects that of the Last Judgment. Inside the stained glass windows are very impressing, while the organ which I more than once went to hear, is very powerful. It consists of more

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than 5,000 pipes and has some 80 or 90 stops. The treasures of *Notre Dame* which led to my hearing long lectures in French on the history of each, consist of ecclesiastical garments, busts and statues of Saints, etc., while in the Chapter-house, I was shown the blood-stained clothes of Archbishop Affre who was murdered by the Communists while endeavouring to stop the fighting in the streets. Coming out of the Cathedral I noticed several beggars stretching their own or wooden hands fixed on to the end of sticks, for charity. Some of them were lazy enough not to take the money that was given to them in their own hands but would have it put in the wooden hand that they carried. In the French Revolution Notre Dame was the scene of much desecration. It was converted into the Temple of Reason, the statue of the Virgin was replaced by one representing Reason and the songs of the Republic were sung instead of Sacred Music.

St. Madeleine.

The Church of *St. Madeleine* which is another remarkable Church in Paris has lately been completed at a cost 13 million francs. It is surrounded by heavy columns and is built all of stone. The inside, which is one large hall, has statues of the Apostles and a sculpture representing the Baptism of Christ. In the pediment is a high relief representing Christ as the Judge of the World. Several streets of Paris cross here: and in the afternoons, the rush of carriages and omnibuses and the crowd of people are bewildering.

Panthéon.

The *Panthéon,* which is also a church of the most imposing character, occupies the site of the tomb of the patron Saint of Paris. Its majestic interior is decorated with works of art of historical character. Its vaults form the burial place of many famous persons in French history. Voltaire the French poet, historian and philosopher and Victor Hugo the greatest of modern writers that France has produced, are buried here. The coffin of the latter with some of its wreathes is still shown to the visitor. The echo in the vaults is remarkably powerful.

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France rightly boasts of giving a good resting-place to its great hero, for *Napoleon's Tomb* surprises you by its magnificence.

Napoleon's Tomb.

Its chapel is a mass of sumptuous marble and gold which is rendered even more beautiful by the evening light from the windows above. I gazed at this magnificent sight, chained to the spot, for a long time, and was loth to leave it, but only to return again and again. The great warrior's tomb is of chocolate marble; around him are statues of his principal generals. The inscriptions refer to the victories he gained and the flags are the momentoes of those victories. Close by is the Armoury Museum, showing French armour of various periods. Amongst soldiers armed *cap-à-pie,* the Zulu had a terrific look. No wonder he was not beaten by the civilized white-man. Their representation of the Indian soldier ought to have been more faithful.

France is now a *Republic;* what it may be fifteen years hence, no one could say. They are so found of change. The Chamber of Deputies now consists of some 540

The Republic and its Government.

members, all elected by universal suffrage. They sit in a large hall upon seats arranged like those in a theatre. Each member receives something like 10,000 francs a year, a plan which does not limit membership to wealth, as is the case in England. There is besides the Deputies,' a second Chamber called the Senate. Its members are not peers, but commoners elected by the people. The country is divided into a number of departments, each of which sends a member. The National Assembly elects 75. These together with the President constitute the Republic. The Senators are usually selected from those who have served an apprenticeship in the lower House, and they furnish the country with the Ministry of the day. The President holds office for seven years and his salary is 1,20,000 francs. It was only in Paris that I could see the spectacle of a Ministry being defeated the day it was formed. They were holding a discussion upon sugar duties in the Chamber of Deputies, and the discussion was characterized with all their

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French animation. The French have their Liberals and Conservatives like the English. Their political parties are as many, Republicans, Reactionaries, further subdivided into Opportunists, giving the country a "Ministry of all Talents," destined to fall in two months, Monarchists, Conservative-Republicans, Radicals, Communists, Bonapartists, etc. Perhaps a third French Revolution might subdivide these still further. Yet the French nation was not altogether mad at the time of the first Revolution. It was, to use Carlyle's words, the fight of reality against unreality.

When I was in Paris France was, as it had since been, greatly disturbed by the Boulangerist agitation, and one evening I witnessed the sad spectacle of the military charging the mob in the streets of Paris and the mob shouting "Long live Boulanger," "Long live Boulanger." The movement has now died out on account of the General's suicide. To me it however appeared that the General's infiuence was due to the fact that the populace did not seem to care for the present state of things, and it is not impossible that France may soon witness the spectacle of the Republic giving place to Monarchy.

Paris is full of theatres, some of them very fine buildings.

Grand Opera.

The *Grand Opera* is the finest building of its kind in the world. Its marble staircase, its grand hall so richly ornamented with painting and gilding as to lead some to suppose that there was too much of ornament in it, its facades and salle so full of decoration, and its large dimensions, are all very striking. Poets, dramatists, musicians, musical instruments are all represented here. It cost something like 47 millions francs. It was the night of the grand military entertainment in aid of the sufferers from the burning of the Opera Comique. There were some twenty-five thousand people and the whole house was crammed with spectators. They showed us the green-room; and amidst the confusion of machinery and people moving to and fro, we saw some perfect types of beauty and some very beautiful faces. They only employ celebrated artists at the Opera.

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The *Hippodrome* is much superior to any circus of its kind in Europe. It could accommodate ten thousand spectators, and their performances were very good. It however appeared to me that both theatres and churches in the West have very little protection from fire, even though they make a river run under one of them. I cannot understand why they should have only one exit.

The Hippodrome.

Besides the miniatures and sculptures of the *Louvre* or the *Luxembourg* or the *Palais de l'Industrie*, they show specimens of mediæval arts, gilt State carriages, carved ivory cupboards, the bed of Francis I., ivory miniatures, wooden, and iron tools, in the *Musée de Clung*. The collection is very extensive and the Museum instructs you in something new at every visit.

Musée de Clung.

In the Cemetry of *Pére la Chaise*, which is the most celebrated burying-place in Paris, you see tombs of the nobles and notables of France. Talma, Thiers, Bellini, and others rest here. The place recalls sad thoughts.

Pére la chaise.

I next visited the *College de France* which together with the adjoining buildings, such as the *Serbonne*, which was founded by Cardinal Richelieu, constitutes the University of Paris. It has a large staff of professors, who give a certain number of free lectures during the year. The salary of these professors does not exceed £400 a year, but they are all eminent specialists. I was much pleased to learn of the interest they in France take in Oriental studies, otherwise my friend Professor Darmesteter could not be the popular Zend and Persian savànt he is. Among the educated Parsis of Bombay M. Darmesteter's labours in the cause of Persian poetry and Parsi-ism have made his name a household word. In Europe also he is an authority on these matters. The French University only confers a Doctor's degree on the

College de France.

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candidate who has conducted some independent scientific investigation and satisfied the Faculty with the result of it. Its Medical College is attended by lady students, who also share with male students the horrors of the dissecting-room. Here I was told by an English student, reading chemistry, that scientific investigation was more closely pursued in Paris than elsewhere.

Hotel de Ville.

The *Hôtel de Ville,* which is the Town-hall of this great metropolis, is one of its finest buildings and has played a conspicuous part in the different revolutions through which the city has passed. The captors of the Bastille were here conducted in triumph on 14th July, 1789. Three days later Louis XVI. testified his submission to the popular assembly from the windows of this building. Here in 1830 Louis Philippe embraced Lafayette in view of the populace. In 1848 the institution of the Republic was proclaimed from it. In 1870 it was the seat of the Government of National Defence and in 1871 of the Communists.

Its beautifully ornamented front and its inside full of allegorical statues like those of Glory and Victory, its marble staircase, its fine reception-rooms, its decorations, are all in keeping with its character; and I left it even more strongly impressed with the love of the beautiful, which generally characterizes the French nation, than from what I had seen of it in the other public buildings in Paris.

Trocadéro.

I next visited the *Trocadéro,* which is the name of a palace and museum, and is given to it, after a port in Spain. The palace contains pieces of ancient and mediæval French sculptures. The park, though not large, contains some fountains which, as they throw their thousands of jets, are very beautiful in the evenings. From the tower, which you ascend by an elevator, you get a fine view of this town. I need not say that the sight was too enchanting to make me feel tired. Its broad streets, well laid out and extending for miles, and its well ordered edifices are too good to make a

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stranger wish for a prettier place. Yet there were two places which I felt more interested in than any other.

Academy of Music.

The first was the *Academy of Music*, so full of musical instruments and compositions belonging to celebrated personages. Its library is the largest of its kind in Europe; and the Director of the Institution obliged me by playing a piece of music accompanied with a song, and the performance was, even to my untrained ears, exquisite.

Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers.

The other was the *Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers*, so full of model machinery of every kind. Models of houses, buildings, bridges, diving-apparatuses, machine for bringing the Egyptian obelisk, excavators, clocks of curious shapes, machinery for all kinds of things, chemical and scientific apparatus, are shown here in the completest collection of their kind in Europe. In this museum the astronomical and the diurnal motions of the globe are represented by clockwork. It also contains a piano which is played by machinery. This machinery sets a figure in motion, which played to us some airs; and I left the institution after having received great instruction from its varied treasures, which was to me worth years of study.

Fontainebleau.

From Paris to *Fontainebleau* is a welcome change. Its forest is historical—the scene of many episodes in French history. Its Château or palace is full of historical reminiscences, of painted ceilings and gilt walls. It is famous for being the residence of Napoleon I. It was here that he kept Pius VII. a prisoner till he consented to his divorce from his Queen. The visitor is here shown the table on which Napoleon wrote out his abdication. The scratches he made show how agitated he was when singing it. The Emperor said: "All the countries having declared that the Emperor was the only obstacle to the maintenance of peace in Europe, the Emperor faithful and true to his oath renounces the throne of France and Italy; and true

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to his faith, he will lose his life rather than become Emperor again." The Cour des Adieux is the Court whence Napoleon parted from the grenadiers of his old Guard on the 25th April 1814, and where he reviewed them on his return from Elba a year later. A curse seems to cling to the place. The man who said that there was no personal sacrifice, not even that of life itself, which he was not willing to make for the interest of France, who said he had commenced the game with a crown in his pocket and left off very rich, only returned to die an English prisoner at St. Helena! It is said that the French conqueror could not bear misfortune with fortitude; probably because it is not the character of his nation.

Fountainebleau is, however, rightly proud of its gardens and avenues. The hand of man has made them look like so many pleasure-houses. The tank has fish a hundred years old. It was a pleasure to walk in these picturesque spots, and their air of serene quietness charmed me very much.

St. Denis.

French villages are much more handsome than any in India. *St. Denis*, a village near Paris, is not a very large place, it is certainly not a town, yet its houses and shops would do credit to many Indian towns. Its church is the burial-place of French kings. It contains the flag of St. Denis which was only removed when the King took the field in person. Its last appearance was at Agincourt.

Conclusion.

I left Paris after having stopped there for about a month, and though my guide told me that I knew the place as much as any Parisian, yet I felt I had not seen enough of this interesting city. Again and again I recall to my mind its lovely gardens, its handsome public buildings and its broad and thickly crowded streets. No place in Europe equals it in point of beauty and cleanliness. Its large establishments like the Louvre, the Bon Marché or the Grand Hotel show more elegance and taste in their general arrangement than

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any corresponding establishment elsewhere.' But their charges also are prohibitively high. In the Grand Hotel, for instance, for a vegetable dinner they charged us 80 francs. In the shops also things are sold dearer than in London, though their quality often compensates for the dearness in price. Many people think the French capital to be worse than other places in Europe in point of dissipation. I am not in a position to offer any positive opinion on this subject, though my guide, who was a Frenchman, assured me that this was not the case. I can only say that I did not notice so much laxity in the gardens and parks of Paris, nor so much solicitation on the part of women of loose character in its streets, as I did elsewhere; and that if Paris is a great place for the lover of pleasure, it is also a great place for the student of art. To a native of India a visit to this great city is worth years of study. It not only shows him the immense progress that the arts of life have made in Europe; but also furnishes him with the lesson, that without steadiness of purpose culture is of no use in saving a country from being the victim of periodical upheavals. The introduction of the democratic form of Government into France with its Liberty, Fraternity and Equality has only tended to introduce into it an element of unsteadiness which would have crushed any other country. From pure democracy France has had its military despotism; from imperfect attempts at constitutional government, it had its personal rule: and again at this day, after a disastrous foreign civil war, and the uninterrupted struggles of irreconcilable parties, it has very lately had to face the imminent danger of falling again under the domination of one man. "Thirteen times," says M. Taine, "in eighty years have we demolished one government to replace it by another, and in vain, for we have not yet found what suits us. Woe to those, the fundamental principles of whose social life have been shaken, and the equilibrium of whose political system has been overthrown by rude and hasty innovations."—*L' Ancien Régime* pp. II, V.

What a lesson for Indian patriots!

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CHAPTER II.

To England—The Home of my Masters.

LONDON—ITS STREETS—HOUSES—IDEAS OF SOCIAL INTERCOURSE—MUSIC—THEATRES—ETC.

"If I had had to choose my birth-place, I would have chosen England," so said Voltaire, the French poet. I would not choose England as my birth-place; but of all foreigners I would choose Englishmen as my rulers, for I say with another Frenchman, that among all the sovereignties of the world, that in which the public good is best attended to and the least violence exercised on the people, is that of England. Truly they say, if a man in England had as many enemies as hairs on his head, no harm could happen to him. That is why more than one foreign emperor or noble has sought refuge in England after his fall in his own country.

Dover.

So one evening after having a little shaking in the English Channel, though no *mal de mer* (sea-sickness), I found myself in sight of the chalky cliffs of *Dover*. The Chatham and Dover Railway Company have built some fine steamers, and the *Empress* and *Calais-Douvres*, relieve you of the horrors of sea-sickness in less than an hour. They are well built, powerful vessels, and full of every convenience. Stepping on English soil I felt somewhat more free, as I did not require an interpreter. In France, whether in churches or in the museums, people take you up in hand like a child, and I had often to listen to long orations upon the treasures of Notre Dame or the Tombs of St. Denis. Here at Dover I was left to myself to enjoy the sea breeze by the promenade in spite of the smells of this coast town. They stared at me for my Indian dress; but I never wished to become a black-Englishman. Better a thousand starings than a change of one's national habits.

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LONDON.

We reached London on a Sunday and at once drove to the Langham hotel, one of the best and the most fashionable hotels in that city. The hotel is managed by a company and consists of more than 500 rooms. The arrangements are extremely good, and every thing goes on with great regularity. Its rooms and their furniture as well as its *cuisine* do not, however, show the same refinement or delicacy as we met with in the Grand Hotel in Paris, yet so far as comfort was concerned, there was nothing to be desired. Being a Sunday there was not much to be seen in London that day, except the crowds in the parks or in the churches; and in taking my first drive in the great metropolis of England I felt how vastly different was it from the great metropolis of France.

First Impressions.

There is here no grandeur in the houses, no delicate handling about the streets. Every thing has a rough exterior. In the streets you see people walking like infatuated beings. In India they would consider you mad if you walked so fast. Every one has a look of substance, ruddy health, strong nerve and iron frame about him. Men, women, and children have none of that listlessness which characterizes our people, An English porter carries a heavy box upon his shoulders which it would take three Indian coolies to carry, and that too, without much difficulty. These stout, well-made figures look very grand-motherly. Yet the race is handsome. Even about old men of seventy, there is a vigour and buoyancy which you seldom meet with after thirty in India. The first thing that strikes you is their great love of manly exercises. Rowing, boating, cricketing, boxing, riding and shooting are common. Only the dyspeptic, the old and the infirm walk or drive. Their horses have more muscle and endurance than the finest Indian breed, though they are heavy and not so good looking. An Englishman instinctively loves an unruly horse because he thinks it develops his courage. Yet every body cannot afford to keep one in London. In the evenings, it is a common sight to see a gentleman or a lady riding in

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front and the groom following him or her, not running and panting like the Indian *sycé* (groom), but comfortably seated upon another horse. An English groom, however, does the work of three Indians. You see two or three labourers moving a heavy load; like mastiffs they cling to it, rough tug with determination to conquer or to die. Another thing that at once strikes a foreigner is their pluck, their great vigour of body and their power of endurance. Taken at random, a hundred Englishmen would seem to weigh quite half as much again as a hundred Indians, even among the strongest races in India. In the streets both men and women, except the very poorest, look well-fed and well made, so much so that one notices but few slender figures among either. Their open florid complexions, their nervous and bilious temperaments, which resist every effort employed to make them subservient to the will of others, their love of truth and open dealing and their hatred of cunning and craft, all seem to be written on their faces as too patent results of their insular position, their barren soil and their rough weather. But for this, India would not have been in the hands of these matter-of-fact people.

Public Buildings.

London has but few handsome *Public Buildings.* Ornament here gives place to utility. Their logic is, "Does it pay? If not, don't undertake it."

St. Paul's Cathedral, with its whispering gallery and dome, from which you get a view of this mighty maze of houses, streets and smoking chimneys, is otherwise much inferior to to French churches. It is nothing compared to what you see in Italy. The warrior element predominates in its monumental commemoration, though Hallam, Sir William Jones, Samuel Johnson, and other literary celebrities are not forgotten.

The Tower of London, which I had read so much of at school, is like an Eastern fortress with its draw-bridge, moat, etc. The costumes of its warders are of the good old feudal times. Its Armoury Museum is full of historical

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relics, and curious antiquities, with a few specimens of Indian armour. Its jewel-room shows the crown, the sceptre, and other appendages of royalty. It is, however, not very rich. An Indian king's jewellery-room is far richer. In the Beauchamp Tower I saw inscriptions on its walls made by noble prisoners to while away their tedious hours. Some of them were very pathetic. Over the fire-place of the great chamber is this inscription in Latin:—

"The more suffering for Christ in this world the more glory with Christ in the next," etc. This is signed "Arundel, June 22, 1587." This was Philip Howard, son of Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, beheaded in 1573. On the right of the fire-place is an elaborate piece of sculpture, which is of peculiar interest as a memorial of the four brothers Dudley: Ambrose (created Earl of Warwick 1561), Guildford (beheaded 1554), Robert (created Earl of Leicester 1563), and Henry (killed at the siege of St. Quintin, 1558), carved by the eldest, John (created Earl of Warwick), who died 1554. Under a bear and a lion supporting a ragged staff is the name "John Dodle," and surrounding them is a wreath of acorns (for Ambrose), roses (for Robert) gilly-flowers (for Guildford) and honey-suckle (for Henry). Below are four lines, one of them incomplete, alluding to the device and its meaning. They run as follows:—

"Yow that these beasts do wel behold and se,
May deme withe ease wherefore here made they be
Withe borders wherein....................
4 Brothers names who list to serche the groond."

The defective line was probably intended to be—

Withe borders wherein eke there may be found.

The carver, who showed much taste in design, was the eldest son of the Duke of Northumberland.

Speaking of Tower Green, which is close by, Macaulay, in his History of England, (i, 628): says of it, "Thither

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have been carried through successive ages, by the rude hands of gaolers, without one mourner following, the bleeding relics of men who have been the captains of armies, the leaders of parties, the oracles of senates, and the ornaments of courts;" and again, "in truth there is no sadder spot on earth than this little cemetery."—*Authorized Guide to the Tower of London* pp. 55, 58, and 59.

Madame Tussaud's Wax-works, since destroyed by fire, contained full life-size figures of kings, queens, popes, public men, etc. The Queen taking the Oath at Her Coronation was a very affective group. Some Indian celebrities, like the late Scindhia with his *hooka*, the Begum of Bhopal in her male attire, the Gaikwar, Lord Dufferin, were also represented. The Chamber of Horrors was probably intended to gratify people's curiosity for all that belongs to the most wicked. The sight was sickening.

But it is in his Museums that John Bull is very rich. The British Museum is full of priceless treasures and antiquities. Greek, Roman and Egyptian relics, Niniveh marbles, classic vases, bronzes, prints, which it is impossible to describe, are seen here in abundance. Its reading-room and library, with its unequalled treasures, contains 1,400,000 books in all languages and all departments of literature. You are also shown here the various processes through which the art of printing passed, specimens of fine and sumptuous printing, literary curiosities like Cranmer's Bible, etc. The manuscript collection contains several thousand volumes of Oriental literature. Admission to the reading-room is easily obtained, and your time is always well spent.

The South Kensington Museum, a result of the Great Exhibition, is also very interesting. It contains models of the most famous works of art in sculpture and carving of ancient and modern Europe, a fine collection of ivory carvings and Persian pottery, and other treasures too numerous to mention. The Indian section is even more interesting,

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and shows that one could learn much about India even in London, if one wished to.

The South Kensington Museum of Natural History is remarkable for its fine collection of British birds. The National Gallery is full of fine pictures, showing much less allegory or sentiment than what you see in France. Hogarth, Turner, Reynolds, Gainsborough, and others here reign supreme. Hogarth's "Marriage *a la Mode*," depicting the incidents of a fashionable marriage in high life, is a grand piece of art. You see here some fine landscape paintings such as you see nowhere else. Nature is apparently more worshipped in England than elsewhere.

Trafalgar Square is the *Place de la Concorde* of London, but much inferior to the French Square both in beauty and cleanliness. Nelson's Column, with a record of his victories, the lions and the fountains, the statues of Napier and Havelock are nothing compared to what you see in similar places in Paris. While I was in London, this Square was being used for mass meetings or for the poor to sleep in—with newspapers for blankets!

London Streets.

But let us take a drive through the *Streets* of the great Metropolis of England and see how far they resemble those of our own Indian towns. London contains more than five or six millions of people and more than three-quarters of a million of houses. It is twelve miles long and eight broad, and it takes many hours even in a carriage or on the top of an omnibus to drive round it. The hansom cab or the Metropolitan Railway gives you no idea of its Streets.

Taking Regent Street, through which I used constantly to pass, as my starting point, I could not fail to admire its cleanlines, its broad side-walks, its handsome shops and the uniform structure of its houses. It is the daily resort of the upper ten thousand of London; and in season evenings, so great is the rush of people, that as many as ten unbroken lines of carriages, driving in either direction, are not

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uncommon, and it often takes an hour to pass through its one mile or so. The only street in an Indian town that makes any approach to it in width is the Chandni Chauk of Dehli, which, at the time of the Imperial Assemblage of 1877 used to be even more densely crowded than Regent Street is in season evenings. No street in Bombay or Calcutta, not even the Fort or the Mumba Devie or the Market in the former, nor the Chouringhee or Government Place or Dalhousie Square in the latter, approaches it in the beauty of its shops or the unique scene it presents in season evenings. In London also, not even Pall Mall, with its many clubs and public buildings, St. James' Street the locale of many fashionable West End shops and the residence of some members of the Royal family, Piccadilly the place of several English celebrities, or New Bond Street which is full of Jewellers' shops, come up to Regent Street in its presenting one of the most interesting sights in London.

From Regent Street is an easy turn through Oxford Street which crosses it. This street is one of the most continuous streets of this great city. It is full of shops of all descriptions and houses suited for persons of all classes. One end of it leads to Notting Hill and the other to Holborn and the City. A ride on the top of an omnibus can only give one some idea of the number of shops it contains or of the sea of human beings that passes through it every hour. The Holborn side of Oxford Street leads to Cheap-side, at the end of which are the Royal Exchange, the Bank of England and the Mansion House. Here a stranger is likely to get into a regular maze of streets, out of which it is not easy to find his way without assistance. The shops and the houses in this part of the town are not at all imposing, because the place is more for business than fashion. But the crowd of business men, of all ranks and stations, that is seen here during the day is simply bewildering. From Cheap-side one can easily go into Fleet Street and the Strand, which are not only full of shops, but also contain most of the leading publishing houses

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and newspaper offices. These places present varying scenes of interest during various hours of the day. In point of cleanliness or the class of people that frequents them, they are on a par with the crowded streets of our large Indian towns; but the amount of business done is much greater. From Charing Cross to White-hall, is a very easy drive, as the rush of carriages is not large enough to obstruct one's progress. Here, are the various public offices of the Ministry, the Horse Guards, the Houses of Parliament, and the India Office (called by the policeman and the cabby *Indiar Office*). I shall not describe the Houses of Parliament or Westminster Abbey for the present, but cross Westminster Bridge. Here, one is again apt to lose himself into a regular wilderness of houses, street and railway bridges, but not of any impressive character. A more circuitous trip through Kensington brings the stranger to Hyde Park, while a second trip leads him to Victoria Station and thence to London Bridge. The former round is more interesting than the latter, though in the latter also there are one or two objects of interest. For instance Waterloo Bridge, thought by Englishmen to be the noblest bridge in the word. This bridge presents the peculiar feature of being perfectly level. The material employed is granite, and the road-way is about 1,300 feet long and 40 feet wide, and the bridge cost over a million sterling. Here I must stop for the day.

Fashionable Shops and Fashionable Ladies.

Before commencing a second trip on the top of an omnibus, let us for a moment wait at Oxford Circus. The space around is full of of shops of fashionable milliners, drapers, silk mercers, jewellers, etc., who in season evenings drive a roaring trade from the beauty and fashion of the metropolis. Here, between 11 A.M. and 4 P.M. are seen carriages of people of the upper-ten in large numbers, the female sex largely preponderating. Between 9 and 10 in the morning, when the shops are opened, the scene is different; for here are seen some of the best specimens of English

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female beauty in the shape of the numerous shop-girls going to their shops. It is not in the palaces of the rich in England that female beauty is always found. On the contrary it is in these girls of the lower strata of the middle class, well formed, well dressed, fairly educated and fairly well conducted, that the beauty of English women seems to show itself at its best. This class of girls is much sought after by owners of fashionable shops as it advances their business. But let us venture into one of these establishments. A fashionable scare-crow of 50 is trying a piece of millinery or jewellery more suited for a girl of sixteen. How odd she looks; and what a contrast she presents to the shop girl who is showing her the article! If they were only to exchange places the article would fit much better and with greater effect. The reason why in almost all ranks of high society in England the number of handsome women is smaller than in the lower class, is that the life of intense excitement they lead and the want of active exercise that characterizes many of them, make them stout and ugly after middle age; and although I was pleased with the polished manners and culture of those ladies of the upper-ten whom I met in fashionable circles, yet speaking generally, I was not much impressed with their beauty.

Asia Minor.

But let us go towards Bayswater. I shall not enter Hyde Park now, as I wish to do so on my way back. I should like to see my Indian friends first. Most of them live in Bayswater, which has been nicknamed *Asia Minor*, because, almost all the Asiatics who visit London patronize the lodging-houses so largely to be met with in that locality. This side of London has few remarkable features, except that great establishment known as Whitely, the universal suppliers in Westbourne Grove. The firm supplies every thing, employs several hundred people and occupies a whole block of buildings like the Bon Marché and the Louvre of Paris. Its business is conducted with wonderful regularity and precision; and so great are its resources that with an envelope of bank notes

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in his pocket, one can, in the course of a few hours, find himself dressed, housed, attended to and provided with every comfort that money can procure. This finished my West End excursions.

Another excursion took me to the *East End of London.*

The East End of London.

Here, the appearance presented by the poorer portions of the town, its by-lanes and its lifeless streets, is greatly inferior to that of its West End portion, while its insalubrity and drunkenness are not seen even in the smallest town in India.

I have already said that *London Streets* present most varying scenes of excitement at various hours of the day.

Some more Features of London Streets, Shops, Advertising, etc., etc.

It is seven o'clock in the morning and there is a dead calm everywhere. Not one shop is open, not a soul moving; few pedestrians are seen, with the exception of the newsboy, the postman, the milkman, the coal waggon or the policeman. Not even the parks attract people for morning walks. Now and then you see a few cricketers, but otherwise everything is quiet. It is now about ten, and the whole place is bustle and business. The Metropolitan Railway or the omnibuses are pouring out their thousands, and the streets are soon full of people. They are well paved, not with sand-stone or *kanker*, like Indian streets, but with wood or asphalt, and they are kept very clean. In the evenings they are well lighted. The houses which face them with their numerous floors and windows are, however, not very prepossessing from outside, nor are the shops generally so attractive as in the French capital. In the West End they are never so moderate in the prices charged as in the City. Generally speaking every thing is dear; and a pound in London is of as much purchasing power as a rupee in India. Thus I would not care to live there without an income of at least £1,000 a year.

The advertisement is, however, the order of the day. Even husbands and wives could be had by advertising. If Englishmen are sober in every thing else, they make, it up by sensational

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advertisement. Poetry, drama, fiction, sentimental impossibility, are all called to aid. Pears' soap is professed to wash a black boy white. It makes Mrs. Weldon look 17; but Messrs. Pears spends £1,00,000 for their advertisements. The number of advertisers is large enough to block all light from omnibuses and railway carriages, and yet every morning my eye was pained by seeing unfortunate specimens of humanity walking along the gutters in rows of sixes or sevens, with a board in front and a board behind. One morning I saw a number of these men with polished black faces and polished black hands. They represented Nubian blacking, and, had I not been told the contrary, I would have taken them for real hubshees (*Nubians*). Advertising does mutual good. It makes the fortune of the advertiser as well as of the newspaper proprietor, the Railway or the Street Car Company. If the Himalayas could be transplanted to London, they would probably soon be covered with shop bills. They have notices fixed to the walls of houses, "Bill stickers will be prosecuted." Yet bills are stuck high and low. We in India have only learnt advertising from our masters, but our biggest traders do not yet advertise. But then they do not make fortunes here except by years of hard work. It is only in Europe that advertising is the royal road to wealth. People do not make their purchases from the streets but go inside the shops to do so. Shop windows are here great things, for in some shops their best and only stock is what they show in the shop window. The news-boy supplies the place of the Indian costermonger, though the latter is also seen with his lemonade and strawberries. The street cry is not very characteristic, though the advertisement is. The beggar's cry is conspicuous by its absence. The shops are generally closed at dusk; only restaurants and public houses are kept open in the evenings.

The London of week days is however vastly different from the London of Sundays. On Sundays these busy streets, so full of life and bustle on the day previous, enjoy a dead calm. Only restaurants and gin-palaces are opened

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in the afternoon. John Bull lets his people hear sermons in the morning, and get drunk in the afternoon. The publican is the prince of the trade. These gin-palaces are however good places for the study of human nature. Men, women and children all flock round the bar; and little flirtations between bar-maids and their gallants are going on while customers are being served.

In the evenings the fashionable streets and parks present sights which would disgrace an Indian town. The law prohibits solicitation for immoral purposes, but necessity knows no law. Here hundreds of hungry, pale-faced, ugly, bloated women openly solicit passers-by and make it difficult for one to walk unmolested after dusk. Their number is much more than what you see in the great Boulevards of Paris. Drink is one of the chief causes of this large number of unfortunate women in London. Were their Indian counterparts to follow them, they would be torn to pieces.

The Salvation Army is as busy in its work of conquest in the West as in the East, and I was amused to see a troop of white *jogis* and *jogins* marching down Regent Street in all the glory of the Indian ascetic, but without his knowledge of the mysteries of Indian philosophy. Perhaps this form of Christianity is expected to be more successful than even Christianity without Christ, the present fashionable idea of Western countries.

Another thing that struck me in London was great affluence side by side with great poverty; great virtues side by side with great vices. The miseries of its poor are simply appalling. One has only to go to its East-end slums to see how filthy, ungodly and wretched these people are, vastly more so than the poor in India. Here an anna or so can yet keep body and soul together; in England climate and other causes have produced so many artificial wants that a shilling seldom finds food for a man, however poor. No wonder they die in such large numbers or make themselves troublesome by holding demonstrations. And

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yet the unemployed has himself only to blame, for in spite of the Temperance movement having affected one-seventh of the population, they spend eighty millions sterling per annum upon intoxicating drinks alone. This is twice as much as what they pay for their bread, and exceeds the rent-roll of all the farms and houses in the United Kingdom. In the streets you see hundreds of poor, half-drunken women, young and old, offering you a rose or a trinket for a penny with the exhortation to purchase, saying they had had no breakfast that morning. Some people are for wholesale emigration; but an emigrant who does not know how to earn his bread is as bad abroad as at home. It is said that General Booth's scheme for rescuing the poor by means of rescue-houses, over-sea colonies and industrial villages, promises to be more successful than the attempt hitherto made in this direction, because of the great public sympathy it has evoked. But no scheme of reform can be successfully carried out unless that great curse of the country, *viz.*, drink, is stamped out. When that is done, there is some hope of reform.

Another noticeable feature in the London streets is the Metropolitan Fire Brigade with its stations at short intervals in almost all of them. These stations are little sheds of wood with a fire engine and a number of men ready for any emergency. As soon as a fire breaks out—and this in London is very common and very dangerous on account of the large quantity of wood used in the construction of the houses—off rush the men with the engine shouting, "Fire! Fire!!" which is a signal for every body, foot passengers or carriages in the densest crowds to stop and make way. The brigade of shoe-blacks, whose members in return for a penny polish your boots, and are under a sort of military discipline, and the corps of commissionaries, which for sixpence an hour or mile, will do sundry odd things, such as carry a message, *chaperon* a young lady, etc., are also things not met with elsewhere.

The street-rough is also much more common and more dangerous in London than his Indian prototype. It is he

who swells the ranks of the unemployed. His shabby and loosely hanging dress, his ruffianly look and his crouching gait cannot fail to excite notice. He is quite ready to oblige you by carrying your parcel, and, if you don't look out, to disappear with it at the next corner. He will run up to open your carriage door and not mind knocking you down for your purse but for his friend—the policeman opposite. His language is not very parliamentary; and he sometimes accosts foreigners by offering to oblige them in objectionable ways or by selling them objectionable literature. His Paris compeer, who prowls about the Boulevards of an evening, is somewhat more refined. I am sure this specimen of misery, brutality and ungodliness is more worthy of the attention of the missionary than the mild Hindu or the rude Southal.

Means of Locomotion in London.

Coming now to the *Means of Locomotion* employed in the great Metropolis of England, what surprises a foreigner is their number as well as their cheapness. There are about 7,000 hansoms and four-wheelers plying for hire in London. The hansom has nothing to correspond to it in India. It accommodates two persons, and the driver drives from behind. The conveyance is at once neat and fast; but as there is only a small splash-board between the passenger and the road it does not save his dress from being besprinkled with mud. The four-wheeler, which corresponds to our *theka* gharries, carries four inside. It is better built and more highly finished than even some of our best private carriages. Cabby, like the Indian *ghareewala*, never shows his ticket, nor is he satisfied with his legal fare. When he is drunk, as he often is, instead of seeing double he sees half, as I found him insisting upon calling a shilling a sixpence, till a policeman set him right.

In addition to cabs and hansoms their are some 2,000 omnibuses in London. These are neat, roomy conveyances, carrying about eight or ten inside and as many outside, all the way from Portland Street to Charing Cross for twopence, or all the way from Regent Street to the Marble

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Arch for a penny. Their drivers are very obliging; but some of their conductors would not mind substituting a bad for a good shilling if you don't look out. It is, however, the Metropolitan and the District Railways of London that are really triumphs of John Bull's energy and perseverance in the means of locomotion employed in his metropolis. The trains run both in circles within the metropolis as well as to its suburbs like Kew, Richmond, etc., at intervals of about five minutes. Their booking offices are on the road, while the stations and the line are all underground. They are lighted by gas; and the tunnels are so well built that you are not aware of a train running many feet below the foundations of your house. The carriages are like those of other English railways, but they are very dirty and stuffy from the smoke from the engine remaining underground. The Railway carries about 90 millions of passengers during the year, and is one of the safest, easiest and cheapest modes of locomotion in this hive of human beings. A circle train, for instance, carries you round London in about an hour for only a shilling.

Not less remarkable are the River Steamers, from which I often saw some of the most interesting sights of this city. For a sixpence one of them carries you with perfect safety from one end of the metropolis to the other. The Thames is of great commercial utility to England. But it is not remarkable for the clearness of it waters; and not even at Hampton Court or Richmond, is it the "flowery stream" which Englishmen think it to be. In London its water is dirty enough to make one shrink from touching it.

Only next to the means of locomotion are the facilities of *Postal Communication* in England generally and in London specially. There are about 3,000 offices and pillar-boxes in the city. Almost all principal hotels and establishments have a post office. The clerks are principally women. There are from six to eleven deliveries every day; and instead of sending friendly or business letters in the town through carriers, the

The Post and The Telegraph.

more convenient and speedy agency of the Post Office is employed. Every body in London cannot afford to keep a servant to carry a letter, but he can have it done by the Post Office more quickly for a halfpenny. The Post Office thus serves to deliver one thousand six hundred and fifty millions of letters and about half as many newspapers, cards, etc., giving an average of 65·1 to each person—a figure which shows how behind India is in this respect with its one letter to each person. The *Telegraphic System* of London, with its mighty web of wires all over the city, is also wonderful; and Londoners utilize it not only for messages to the country but also for those sent in the city. A man of business bringing a few friends to dinner or thinking he would be too late for it, telegraphs to his wife for sixpence. The charges of messages are lower than those in India, the minimum charge being sixpence and the charge for each word half-penny.

Another most remarkable system is the Telegraphic tape, whereby, even in your hotel or residence, you can read a speech as it is being delivered in Parliament. In Langham hotel, where the tape is employed, I used often to read each sentence of a speech as it was coming out of the speaker's mouth.

London Parks.

From the crowded streets, with their stuffy atmosphere, it is however a great relief to walk into the *Parks* of this metropolis. Foremost among them is Hyde Park, that "great lung of London." It covers four hundred acres and is very effectively laid out. It is always full of people; in the afternoons of the *elite* and the fashionable, driving in splendid carriages or riding along Rotten Row or taking a quiet walk on the foot-paths; after dusk, of socialist preachers, psalm-singers, women of easy virtue, etc. The London policeman has orders to leave it after dusk, so as to let these people have their diversions. They have provided for those who wish to spend their evenings here in unobjectionable ways with benches and chairs placed in pairs under the trees; and the

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sight of young people breathing their tales of love, or even attempting something further, in these avenues is not uncommon; and I often noticed three or four of such couples sitting in silent rapture, hand in hand, on one bench.

It is, however, only in London that they could carry out the idea of having such large Parks in the heart of the city. The only place in India where the attempt has been successfully made is in the Queen's Garden at Delhi. On the Kensington side of Hyde Park is Prince Albert's monument: a memento of the Queen's love for one who had endeared himself to that unimpressionable being, John Bull, by realizing his true position, not only as the husband of the Queen but as the friend and adviser of the Sovereign. They say that much of the high character of the English Court is due to the Prince Consort's influence. Anyhow, no reader of his life can fail to realize that he was a great man—a person who would have been an ornament to every noble condition of life. The memorial contains allegorical figures representing *Commerce*, *Industry*, *Agriculture*, and *Engineering*, has marble groups representing the various continents and has reliefs of the poets, etc. But though in its own way a good building it is not superior to other buildings of the same kind in Paris or elsewhere. The women of England have also adorned Hyde Park with a statue of Achilles, dedicated to the Duke of Wellington and his companions-in-arms. This memorial cost £10,000, and is well worthy of the Iron Duke; but by a strange irony of fate, the place is now-a-days infested in the evenings by women of the lowest character, who render it impossible for one to enjoy a quiet evening near it.

Regent's Park, through which I used to walk every morning, though not so full of fashionable people as Hyde Park, is, in some respects, superior to it from the numerous terraces of houses and villas which surround it. It is 450 acres in area, and has beautiful avenues of trees, a lake with suspension bridges, and some fine shrubberies which afford a cool shade from the light of the sun.

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Its inner circle is a perfect circle. The Park in season mornings is used by cricketers for their favourite game; and I never left it without feeling greatly refreshed by its fresh and cool breezes. One thing that I frequently noticed, both in the streets and parks of London, was the large number of men who went about with baskets under their arms and pointed spikes in their hands, picking up the ends of cigars they could find on the road. On asking one of them as to what the cigar-ends were picked for, he replied: "Surely to be made into cigars by cutting and turning!" This is perhaps only a shade cleaner than the habit of some London waiters to clean knives and forks by spitting upon them!

St. James' Park is much smaller than either of the above, though it has been successively improved because of its proximity to the Royal residence. Here I used to enjoy the scene presented by its picturesque lake and its shaded walks and avenues.

Some people I met in the London Streets.

In walking through the London Streets and Parks I made many interesting *Acquaintances.* Those of them who had been in India seemed to take a pleasure in speaking to me in broken or half-forgotten Hindustani. A retired Indian General, whom I met at a railway station, said: "*Ham Bengal General Sahib tha,*" *i.e.*, I was a General (sahib) in Bengal—laying great stress upon the word *Sahib.* Most of them were extremely obliging. For instance Archdeacon Bally, whose name is well known in India, introduced himself to me one morning near Trafalgar Square, and offered to accompany me all the way to the Langham hotel, explaining to me the various sights in the way and introducing me to another retired Anglo-Indian gentleman, Sir Frederick Haines, late Commander-in-Chief of India. Others, like Sir Richard Meade, formerly British Resident at Hyderabad, whom I met more than once, used to remember and recount with pleasure the many years they had spent in India. Others again, like Sir Chichele Plowden,

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late Commissioner of Meerut, who immediately made me out at an evening party at Lord Ripon's house, showed their anxiety in keeping up their knowledge of India by offering to correspond with those who would give them authentic information.

All these and other passing acquaintances not only left upon me the impression that, even after the official garb was laid aside, the interest of Anglo-Indians in India was keener than ever, but, that their true character as English gentlemen never showed itself to greater advantage than in their own country. Another thing which I often noticed about many of them, was the extraordinary fondness for India and its people which their retirement had created in their minds. To some of them, the country and its inhabitants seemed to possess attributes which they would probably never have given them credit for in India. Others seemed to pine for it more keenly than they did for England when in India. The value of water is felt when the well is dry! On the other hand, those of the Londoners who had no interest in India, though naturally shy and formal towards a stranger, were always civil, and if asked, never hesitated to give the most correct information they possessed; some of them, particularly the female portion, now and then stared at my Indian dress, especially when it happened to be other than black; but I never met the slightest annoyance from any of them, even in the most backward parts of the city.

London Houses.

But let us enter one of these dingy buildings that face the streets. How different it is from an Indian house! No large tracts of land occupied by vegetable or flower gardens, tennis grounds or large tree; no spacious rooms, such as you find in European houses in India; no paved court-yards, flanked by solid well-built halls, as you meet with in those of well-to-do Indians of the old style. The first floor of the house is of brick and mortar and the upper ones generally of wood. The entrance is through a small door, which is always kept shut for fear of intruders. Two bells are attached

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to this door: one for servants and the other for visitors. The kitchen is generally underground, a passage leading to it from the house. The outer door opens into a narrow passage, where both visitors as well as inmates of the house, leave their umbrellas, hats and walking-sticks. The first room on the left is generally the family dining-room. The hours of meals in the upper and the middle classes are: between nine and ten in the morning breakfast, two in the afternoon for lunch called in India *tiffin*, and seven or eight in the evening for dinner. The dining-room is usually furnished with only a long table and a number of chairs, and, except where guests are invited, there are no table decorations. *Materfamilias* presides at the meals; and the dinner table furnishes the occasion for the discussion of many interesting matters. Close to the dining-room is the office, *bureau* and library of *paterfamilias*, where he receives his visitors, reads his books, writes his letters and does anything he chooses. It is furnished according to his taste or business. Here, except when he is out, he passes his time. The narrow passage further on leads into the kitchen, which also presents an appearance far different from that of an Indian kitchen. Coal is generally used for cooking; and, because a lot of things are purchased ready made, culinary operations are not necessary to the same extent as they are in India. The various dairy companies, whose carts with large vessels full of milk and butter run through the streets every morning, the grocer, the baker, and other tradesmen, supply the family with its necessaries without the trouble of their being purchased from the shops every time. The second floor generally contains the family drawing-room. Here you meet the lady of the house and her daughters, if any; sofas, easy chairs, pictures, china, fancy glass-ware, foreign curiosities—in Anglo-Indian houses, Indian objects—complete its furniture. If it opens towards the street its windows and the verandah are decorated with handsome flower-pots. The same floor has one, two or three other rooms used for the nursery, or the bath or to accommodate

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visitors who stop in the house. The bed-rooms are generally upstairs. Each member of the family has his or her own room, which he or she furnishes according to taste. The number of small houses met with in the most fashionable parts of London is very large as compared with that of large houses. Yet all these small houses contain every possible comfort that money can purchase or ingenuity can invent. Simplicity and taste are written on their walls. John Bull is very home-loving, and spares no expense to make his house comfortable; and a foreigner cannot requite his hospitality better than by re-echoing his sentiment that home life is his *forte*, his house his castle and his lady's palace, where she reigns supreme and sings "Home, Sweet Home." A homeless man is nobody—one not fit to be trusted.

Ideas of Social Intercourse in London.

Visits in England are generally paid in the afternoon, which Londoners call *morning*. You pull the visitors' bell and the door is opened by a servant who takes in your card, asking you to sit in the meantime in the dining-room or the library, or, if your host is single or a professional man, in the drawing-room. You are not made to wait for ever so short a time in the verandah or under the trees in the compound as in India, because English houses have no verandahs or compounds, and because such a custom would not be tolerated in England. Unless you go to a professional man on business, the conversation is never restrained or formal, nor is there any patronizing air or assertion of superiority. If you happen to be a friend or a privileged visitor, you are at once taken upstairs and introduced to the lady of the family, and everybody is thenceforward anxious to please and oblige you. Even with business men there is not much formality—never any stiffness.

The *Ideas of Social Intercourse* entertained in England would thus seem to be different from those entertained in India, where officials and non-officials on the one hand,

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and natives and Europeans on the other, form different sets. The European of to-day does not generally see anything good in the native nor show much desire to be intimately acquainted with the Indian character, with the result that the work of administration, though it goes on with mechanical regularity, does not now show that sympathy with the ruled which it did in the past. The opposition of interests between the two peoples that is now thought to exist, has also largely to do with the widening of the gulf between them. On the other hand the Indian, though quick in gauging his rulers' character, has yet to learn to imitate it in its better parts. He is too apt to to speak only what would sound pleasant to official ears, and does not care to avoid high flown expressions, or to meet English plainness with plain straightforward dealing. But, though John Bull may find the cringing sycophant a pleasant companion for the moment, yet his innate love of truth and justice cannot make the latter long flourish or be popular with him or earn his respect. Pleasant though it be, he is not the man to live in the fools' paradise some people wish him to live in in India. The tendency of his language, especially in politics, is certainly very euphemistic. His regard for what would not sound well to ears polite is carried absurdly too far. As Max O'Rell says: "To polite ears a lie is not a lie but a statement wide apart from truth." To mention the word *trousers* is to send English ladies behind their fans, though lady artists do not scruple to study nude figures at the academy. The revelations made by the *Pall Mall Gazette* led some good people to propose to the late Mr. Smith, the proprietor of Railway book-stalls in England, to stop the sale of that paper there, because it ventured to offend ears polite by writing what had better be allowed to remain undisclosed. Adultery in English law is "criminal conversation;" to entice away an unmarried girl from the custody of her parents, "loss of service." Instead of saying you are off you say: "I am afraid I must bid you good bye." In asking for a thing

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you say: "I think I will have it" or "I don't know that I should have it." "My God" is not polite, but *Mon Dieu* is. French words for indispensable articles of dress are more easily tolerated than English. The tendency of polite conversation is to leave more to be guessed than to express it—to beat about the bush is more the fashion than to say the thing plainly. In politics if John Bull fights and conquers, it is not for glory or for adding to his possessions, but to improve the condition of the conquered people, to maintain peace and order upon earth and to promote the general happiness of mankind. He does not fight for the promotion of his trade only, but to make the subject people see the error of their ways. His ministers in opposition only denounce the acts of their opponents to repeat them in office. Yet this strange creature loves of all others truth and open dealing; and in spite of his defects I like him for his hatred of show and ostentation, his readiness to perform a great deal more than he promises. Many a friend in London used casually to enquire as to what I should like to see or whom I should like to know, and I used to answer him in as casual a manner without expecting anything. But I was often agreeably surprised by receiving next morning bundles of letters of introduction to unknown friends and known places. The fact is that as Washington Irving says: "John Bull with all his odd humours and obstinate prejudices is a sterling-hearted old blade, a plain down-right matter-of-fact fellow, with less of poetry but more of rich prose, little of romance but a vast deal of strong natural feeling, his virtues plain, home-bred and unaffected, his vices all his own, smacking of the raciness of his good qualities."* And not even the enervating atmosphere of an eastern climate makes him give up these virtues altogether.

Some more English Characteristics.

Another *Characteristic of John Bull* is that he loves to be exclusive. Every man for himself is his motto. Let-me-alone in his ideal of society. I often travelled for hours

* Irving's *Sketch Book* p. 131, (Routledge.)

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in the same compartment of a train without exchanging half-a-dozen words with my companions. And I would not be surprised if they wanted a heaven to themselves. Even their flirts, male and female, have an air of cold solemnity about them, which makes your blood run cold in your veins. Their very amusements savour of business. Most of them have a cynic disgust of life, always morose, and though burning with a desire to oblige you, quite capable of making you turn away in disgust at their coldness. That cross man there, with his churlish exterior and inexpressive countenance, hides many a virtue under a single vice. He loves to help you, but your thanks would disgust him. At the same time his stoutness and solidity of character have rightly earned the praise of foreign nations and serve as perfect examples for many to follow. What he does, he does with a will. If he eats he eats like a giant, if he drinks he drinks like a giant; but when he works, he also works like a giant. After all the Hindu is not quite off the mark in ascribing to him some of the qualities of the giants and others of the gods of his own mythology. No half-heartedness, no irresolution, no want of earnestness about him. If you see him walking in the streets of London, you would think the world had come to an end. Yet he is only going to the Parks. Nobody is looked upon so mean as one who asks for favours. An Englishman will never do so if he could help it. Everybody has a hobby. The nation is full of eccentricities. They hold their own. Tell a lie and stick to it, is one of their mottoes. They love opposition. Here, is it a crime to be poor. The goddess of wealth has more votaries than the Church of England. To call a man a beggar is the greatest insult. Short accounts make long friends; so goes the English proverb. Nobody tolerates being under money obligations to another if he can help it. Your money is the test of your merit. In India a poor man can live and even be comparatively comfortable. England is a hell for the poor. There it is the law of the survival of the fittest, and the fittest is he who commands most

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money. There is a feverish competition everywhere, and to earn money honestly if you can and be a man of independent means is everybody's ambition. This lies at the root of all that material progress which one everywhere finds in England. But unlike our people whose four per cents or massive buildings or curious jewels are often the only evidence of their wealth, they also know how to make good use of their money. The number of nameless benevolent people is a legion. Universities, hospitals, and a thousand other schemes bear witness to the fact. Arts, science, music, painting, sculpture, old manuscripts, relics of the past, curious antiquities, all find their patrons here. The income of some London charities exceeds £10,000 a year. These charities have a total income exceeding that of many a Native State in India. Every Englishman and Englishwoman works, if not to earn a livelihood, to do good to others. The climate is fatal to an idle man. A Frenchman considers to show capacity is the end of speech in debate, an Englishman considers the end of speech in debate is to advance business. They require everybody to be true to his engagements; and I often missed many a one by being only half a minute too late. For a punctual man, a man of work, nothing is too good, and there is not a public man who is not a man of work. A good speaker is not always looked upon as the best man in a Ministry, a minister who does not work is soon elbowed out. Their Gladstones, Hartingtons, Churchills and others are working themselves to death in their respective causes, otherwise they would be nowhere. Reserve power, nothing by fits and starts, is their rule. Nobody hates show and humbug more than they, and the best dressed man is he whose dress excites least notice. Englishmen talk of the baneful effects of caste in India, as if they had none in England, though it may not be in the same form. A poor man there is a Sudra; and a rich man, a lord, a peer, a Brahman, a born legislator, statesman and everything else. It is not charity but money that covers a multitude of sins in England. There, a Sudra can, like Viswamitra of Hindu mythology.

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be a Brahman, not by religious austerities like those of the Hindu royal sage, but by austerities in the accumulation of wealth. An Englishman never pardons his superiors for any familiarity towards him, nor does he pardon himself for any towards those below him. Many of us in India have yet to learn the lesson of stubbornness and resoluteness; and I would willingly sacrifice half the rhetoric of the country for a tenth of that spirit of self-help which is so strongly noticeable in England, *viz.*, to rely upon one's own resources and do all that one attempts.

English Dinners; Ideas of Hospitality, etc.

To come now to *English Dinners* of which one hears so much. I regret I am not a great admirer of English cookery. John Bull loves good things as much as anybody else; but he has perhaps too many other things to attend to than to mind his culinary affairs. His vegetables are splendid; and peas, beans, carrots, radishes, cauliflowers, cabbages, asparagus and other vegetables are grown to perfection. But he serves them boiled whole with a little salt, and does not make them piquant or spicy like the Hindu. His bread is certainly inferior to that made in France; and never comes up to the fresh and wholesome Indian *chapati*. This is because he does not eat much bread. His curry is never good; and he has yet to learn the art of cooking rice. His tea is very fair; but his coffee, especially the one he is served with after dinner, tasts more like a dose of Indian *cherata*. He thinks it helps his digestion! In fruits he excels everybody, and one could never speak too highly of his apples, grapes, straw-berries, cherries, oranges, etc. But these good things are not for the poor as in India; and it is seldom that you get a good orange for a half-penny, or a good melon for even less, as you do out here. Out of season fruit is sold at fanciful prices. They charged us 80 francs for a vegetable dinner in the Grand Hotel at Paris, because they gave us hot-house fruits. In India 80 francs would go to maintain a good family for a month. In sweets too he is not superior to the Frenchman; and always

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inferior to the Indian. His puddings, tarts, jellies, biscuits, cakes and other after dinner delicacies are decidedly inferior to anything we get for a fourth of the money in India. Nor is there much in his innumerable preparations of chocolate sold in the shops in the name of sweets. Not being a flesh eater I can give no opinion about his meats. But if outward appearance is anything, an Indian *pulas* or *kabab* has a much better appearance than any English chop or cutlet. They say that much of the meat sold in London is diseased. If so why do they not take better precaution? His dinner or tea party is characterised by all his national reserve and solemnity; and unless you have been previously introduced, you might not find occasion to speak half-a-dozen words to the person next to you. Yet an invitation to dinner means the highest honour, and if you are wise you had better accept it. Englishmen in India often put forward the theory that you cannot be my friend unless you dine with me; but are heterodox Indians and others, who have no such prejudices, allowed the privilege? His *Ideas of Hospitality* also share his general characteristics. He is liberal towards his guest and expects him to make himself at home. At the same time, he shall never pardon his interfering with the arrangements of the house. If he is a guest for the night, his comforts are attended to without his freedom being interfered with. "We dine at seven," says the lady of the house; and he won't get his dinner unless he is punctual. The joint family system of India, or the train of needy relations and hangers-on that devour one's resources here, is not tolerated in England. As soon as a man marries he takes separate lodgings and lives with his wife; and thenceforth he and his father and mother visit each other as guests. Another thing which I noticed was the large number of middle class families giving up house-keeping and taking their residence in lodgings. A fact which shows how costly house-keeping is and how hard must be the struggle for existence in England. All this furnishes many a useful lesson to an Indian; and my readers will I

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hope now be able to realize what is wanting in the constitution of their own society to make them fit competitors with Englishmen in the race of worldly prosperity and success.

English Balls.

Chief among John Bull's amusements is Dancing. I enjoy a *Ball*; but though whatever might be said of its social or hygienic value, there is not much of science in it; and to one uninitiated into the mysteries of English society, its ways of enjoying life, its gaieties, and flirtations, a Ball-room loses its attraction soon after the first charm of novelty is over. Mamma with a marriageable daughter to dispose of, the young lady anxious to add to her conquests, or the male flirt equally anxious to show his power of making an impression upon the fair sex, may all find the Ball-room a good place for showing their respective talents; but to one not so deeply interested, a Ball is not so absorbing a topic as it is to Englishmen and Englishwomen.

English and Hindu Music.

As regards *English Music*, whether sacred or secular, I confess that, though I was often charmed with what I heard of it in churches or in private or public concerts and appreciated some of its airs most keenly, yet as a native of India I prefer my own to foreign music. Englishmen think *Hindu Music* to be barbarous, discordant, etc., without having ever studied it. I might as well say that English music was barbarous and discordant because I did not understand it. Our books teach us that the Hindu system of musical notation was copied by Persia and Arabia and other countries, not excepting Europe; and a Hindu could still say that the costliest English musical instrument fails to produce those modulations of sound which an ordinary Indian instrument can. In India those of the Europeans who hear Indian music would seem only to appreciate its simple and not its more complex tunes, because our system of notes and half-notes, our tones and sub-tones, our combinations of notes, our mode of division of the octave and our rules regarding

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particular tunes being set apart for particular times and seasons, are all different from theirs. In vocal music also, what Europeans would call singing in falsetto shall be considered to be discord if an Indian were to sing in any other tune or note than the one prescribed for it. Thus, while each nation's music charms the ears and captivates the imaginations of its own people, it would be rash for either to pronounce the other's to be barbarous without thorough investigation. It would be as sensible for an Englishman to conclude that all Hindu music was discordant from the discordant drums he hears in Indian streets, as for an Indian to say that the street organ he has heard in the streets of London is equal to the organ of Westminster Abbey or the organ-grinder as good a musician as Haydn. As to the alleged stagnation of Hindu music, beyond having written music and reviving that portion of instrumental music which is not now in vogue or creating a taste for it in other than professionals, few changes can be introduced into it without doing violence to the tastes of the Indian community or changing the character of its music altogether. The great Hindu musicians and composers, whose songs are sung and whose airs are played up to this day, will always hold their own in India. The lofty airs of Tansen, the greatest musician of India, will always appeal to the emotions of the high and low there. The sweetness and fervent piety of Surdas, the great bard of Krishna's adventures, or the equally highly religious but more lofty tone that pervades the songs of Tulsi Das, the great chronicler of Rama's deeds, the impassioned piety of Mira Bai, the royal poetess of Chittore, the philosophy embodied in the songs of great religious reformers like Kabir and Nanack, all seem to keep their hold upon the hearts and retain their influence upon the character of the Indian people in spite of all foreign influence. Nowhere is the proverb: "Give me the songs of a nation and I shall take care of its laws," more strongly exemplified than in the case of the Hindu. His music, like his everything else, is largely permeated by his religion. That distaste for the vanities of the world, that

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fervent piety and that complete annihilation of selfishness which his religion teaches, his songs re-echo. From his best singer to his street minstrel all still sing in strains like the following: "Why dost thou cry from the top of a mosque as if thy God was deaf. No, thy God listeneth to even the sound of an ant's motion. Thou decoratest thyself with a garland of flowers, paintest thy forehead and lettest thy hair grow. But thy heart is full of hypocrisy; God is not deluded by these.' Says Kabir: 'Let the wise know that God is to one what he takes him to be.' No friend is there in this world—all the world is a friend in prosperity; in adversity every one leaves thee; wife, friends, sons, relations are all attached to thy wealth; when they see thee poor they forsake thee. What shall I say to my foolish self who has attached itself to these and has forgotten the glory of the Destroyer of all miseries. A dog's tail never loses its crookedness. O my Creator preserve thy devotee from harm! So long as desire, anger and avarice have their seat in the heart, the learned and the fool are both equal in the eyes of Tulsi. Do not delay, but at once seek refuge in Rama. When people of the world give shelter to those who seek it why shall not Rama do the same for thee? All my life has been wasted in search after the vanities of the world, childhood, youth, and old age have all been spent till my hair has grown grey, my mouth has ceased to breath or utter; I have been drinking the water of a well in preference to that of the Ganges, and worshipping demons in preference to my Creator. From delusion I have forgotten God and have been wandering about like one bewildered. But, O Surdas! even now it is not too late; nor does it cost anything to utter the name of Rama." Descriptions of natural scenery, of the threatening clouds shedding their torrents of rain, the *koil* and peacock in the woods, the cool, gentle and fragrant breeze rustling in the trees, the Spring with its revival of nature; the Ganges and its deep crystal waters, its trees creepers, forests, mountain-birds and fishes, above all its virtue of saving those who believe in its divine attributes

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the adventures of Rama and Krishna, also form favourite themes for Hindu singers or listeners. The early dawn and the seasons, moreover, furnish an inexhaustible store for some of the best and most elevated music; but Hindu music of the highest sort is more of a sacred than of a secular nature.

Drama.

After Music comes the *Drama*, which has everywhere been a great instrument of popular education as well as an effective means of exposing prevailing vices and follies. In England few or no original dramatic works of merit or importance have been produced of late; and all that is usually attempted, by even the best stage managers and actors, is to produce works of either the great English dramatists of the Elizabethian period or of those of later date, or to adapt French plays to English tastes. But the character of the English stage has of late been greatly improved; and the entertainments are now wholesome throughout, the Comic Opera untainted by grossness and the Farce by objectionable suggestiveness. At least I can say so from the performances I saw in some of the best London theatres. To me they always appeared to have nothing that was in the least objectionable or improper. These English theatres are little holes, badly lighted and never well ventilated, as compared with those I saw in Paris. But John Bull is too practical to waste his money on architectural beauty. He gives you better acting instead. Shakespeare is as much read outside England as in England; but not till I saw Henry Irving and Helen Terry's acting as I did as Benedick and Beatrice in "Much Ado About Nothing," that I could realize what Shakespeare is. The scene in the church between Hero, Claudio, DonPedro, and the Friar was acted in the most perfect manner. True to nature, was the actor's motto. Nothing was over done. In addition to the Lyceum, where Henry Irving acts, in London there are other good theatres also; and I was much pleased with the way they produced "Held by the Enemy" at the Princess Theatre in Oxford Street. The plot was taken from the American war; and the scene in which the young

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lady, the heroine of the play, fell in love and ultimately married her enemy the newspaper correspondent, was acted in a way that fully bore out the reputation of the actors who played the respective parts.

The Alhambara, which is the most spacious and least suffocating of London theatres, goes in for dazzle and show, and professes to take you into the enchanting fairyland of the East, but not with much success. Yet I enjoyed its ballets and tableaux. What however, struck me most was that though there were so many theatres, all competing for public favour, yet every one was always full, because there are 3,00,000 play-goers in London every night. The most curious part of the thing about these London theatres more-over is that with the exception of Henry Irving, no others attempted to produce Shakespeare even though there is so much Shakespeare worship in England. The reason is that Shakespeare is not sensational; and, in England it does not pay to produce on the stage anything that is not sensational, though I am sure the worst of Shakespeare's comedies is superior to even the Private Secretary or any other mediocrity.

Some people seriously hold that Bacon wrote Shakespeare's plays; that till this age of the great cryptogram every one was under a delusion, as if the difference between the great poet and the great philosopher's genius was nothing. Bacon could not add much to his literary fame by being credited with the authorship of Hamlet or The Merchant of Venice, nor could Shakespeare's genius acquire any lustre by ascribing to him the authorship of the Advancement of Learning. Dethroning Shakespeare means dethroning Bacon. An inspired idiot, for such they make him, could not be the brightest and the wisest, though he may be the meanest of mankind. One might as well say that Vyasa, the author of the Mahabharata, never wrote that immortal epic, and that it was written by Kalidasa, or that the Sakuntala was the work of a 19th century Pandit! This Shakespeare controversy has to an Indian as much meaning as the one between

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Pandits and Christian Missionaries as to the Bhagvata Gita having a Christian origin because some of its teachings are followed by the Bible.

There has been of late a revival of the Dramatic Art in India; and the plays of the immortal Kalidas or scenes from the great epics, still charm Hindu audiences by their grandeur or pathos. Another feature of the modern Indian stage is its caricature of modern vices. The Bengalees are peculiarly successful in the latter, the Mahrattas in the former, because of the caste being always more difficult; whilst the Parsis have adapted their acting to the romantic and sentimental fairy tales of Persia and Arabia.

Ascot Races.

Among English fairs I think I could take the *Ascot Races* as a typical one. Everybody from Royalty downwards was there; and railway companies, box proprietors and drag owners had a good time of it. It is an hour's trip from Waterloo Station through a deliciously pleasant country, full of green fields rejoicing in all their glory, and high railed parks which English gentlemen are so fond of jumping to break their necks in. Arrived at Ascot the first thing that struck me was the dense crowd that was met with. Everybody was in the best of spirits; and betting and book-making were going on everywhere. Everybody indulged in them anxious to become rich. Gambling is a misdemeanour in England punishable with fine and imprisonment, but betting on horse races is an exception because everybody, the rich more than the poor, indulges in it. A Cambridge law professor thinks that a constant source of difficulty in punishing public gambling is the fact that the rich can always gamble to their heart's content, without any public facilities. The Indian contract law probably knows better; for it makes every subscription or contribution or agreement to subscribe or contribute towards any plate or prize of Rs. 500 or upwards for the winner of a horse race valid and recoverable in court. They have put the figure at 500, probably to protect the rich and the monied.

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At Ascot there were some well contested races, and fortunes were made and lost in the course of a few minutes. Descending from my box I took a look round and saw the beauty and fashion of England in the boxes or in the galleries, and the poor and the middling in the drags on the other side of the grand stand. Some of the faces could not fail to strike me by their grace and beauty. Perhaps it was a good opportunity for adventurous mammas. In India it is only the male portion of John Bull's race, and in imitation of his example some native element also, which get excited at these races; the female is calm and quiet. In England it is not so. The crowds of spectators, the London costermonger with his strawberries, lemonade, gin, etc., the mountebank, the proprietor of the merry-go-round, the hawker of little tit-bits, were all on a par with what we see at Indian fairs, but not the eagerness with which gambling was going on.

London Exhibitions.

Next to the Races, but greater in public benefits are the various *Exhibitions* that form such a paramount feature of western life; and when I was in London they had the American and the Manchester Exhibitions in their full swing. The former did not appear to me to be of any exceptional merit, as many of the exhibits were not above ordinary description in spite of their Yankee puff. The chief feature of the Exhibition was however Buffaloe Bill's Wild West Show, in which some daring feats of the people of that portion of the world were shown by Buffaloe Bill and his followers. They had also a Baby-show in the Alexandra Palace; but I was greatly disappointed in it. The "exhibits" were not the best specimens of English babies; the mothers were not of the cleanest habits, and the Exhibition was utilized by the very poorest to get an honest penny by showing off their offspring. Of the Manchester Exhibition I shall speak later on. But what struck me most about these English Shows and gatherings was the highly artificial means adopted to creat excitement, the absence of all religious enthusiasm, of all impetus to charity and of those

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gay colours which are so largely seen in Indian fairs. Here religion is the chief promoter of many of our fairs; and, as a consequence it stimulates an amount of charity and almsgiving, which, in spite of their running into the other extreme of being indiscriminate, are not without their good influence upon the national character. Nowhere in Europe are seen fairs like the great fair at Haradwar with its millions of people, all assembled for an ostensibly good and religious object or where the learned of all sects meet for the exchange of thoughts. These Indian gatherings were originally intended for religious professors and followers of various sects to meet and exchange thoughts periodically; and even now their evening discussions on the banks of the sacred river, or under the shade of a banyan tree or in their own huts of straw, attract thousands of people and show how powerfully the spirit of religion still pervades these institutions. Another feature about eastern fairs is their peaceful character and absence of rowdyism, drunkenness, quarrels and black-eyes that are not uncommon in fairs of western countries. Men, women, and children here all enjoy themselves in a manner which though it may be less refined is certainly more innocent, more natural and more peaceful than what I saw of it in western countries.

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CHAPTER III.

The Government.

I shall now attempt to give my impressions of the various Institutions of England—of its three States of the Realm, its literary activity and its Press, rightly called its fourth Estate; its Clubs and Asociations, its Universities, its Religion and its Industries and Trade—all of which have given me much valuable instruction, such as no amount of reading could have afforded. I shall commence with the *House of Commons*—that great arbiter of the destinies of the English Nation.

House of Commons.

With feelings of awe and reverence I entered the great assembly. Mr. Munro Fergusson had obtained for me a ticket for the distinguished visitors' gallery. I passed by the statues of Pitt and Walpole, and found myself in the lobby occupied by gentlemen in morning dress, walking to and fro or eagerly discussing the news of the day. Presently the ushers announce the Speaker's coming: "Hats off," cries the policeman, and in marches the Speaker majestically, preceded by his ushers and followed by his train-bearer, his chaplain and his clerks. The Serjeant-at-Arms advances from the end of the House and places the mace on the table. The Chaplain then reads a prayer for the Commons: "May they deliberate without favour or bias!" The arrangements of the House are as follows. The benches are fixed in two long rows, extending on either side from the chair to the bar; and each row is divided midway by a narrow passage known as the gangway. The front bench to the right of the chair is the Treasury bench, and upon it sits the Leader of the House and as many of his ministerial colleagues as can find accommodation there. The other benches on the ministerial side are occupied by supporters of Government, below the gangway having been, when the Liberals were in power, the resort for the most part of radical members. On the left of the chair are the Opposition benches, the front of which above the gangway is reserved for ex-Ministers and Privy

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Councillors. Mr. Gladstone and other chiefs of his party as well as Lord Hartington sit on this side. The Parnellites keep below the gangway. The long gallery above the Speaker is for reporters. Every paper has its reporter in the House. But even now parliamentary reporting is a breach of privilege. Only the eloquence of Burke got it softened. If they were to enforce it now, the Tower would soon be full of reporters and short-hand writers. Above the reporters' gallery is the ladies' "cage." Members keep their hats on except when speaking. The business of the House commences with passing private Bills. Then come petitions, notices of motions and questions. These questions are sometimes relevant, sometimes relating to insignificant matters, and they are disposed of off-handedly and amidst the incessant murmur of conversation.

In spite of reform bills and extension of suffrage, only wealth can find a seat in the British Parliament. The prosperous merchant, the country gentleman, the rich trader, the sportsman, the lawyer and the medical man constitute the predominant element. The literary man, or the journalist, is in the minority. The latest return of the Members shows there are more than two hundred lawyers in the House. Our old friends the Anglo-Indians form an uninfluential minority in the House and seldom speak except when India is concerned, and then they are generally allowed to have their own way. It is curious why they love to retire from India into the House of Commons. People in England seem to think that a long residence in India makes a man lose touch with English political life or that the bureaucratic tendencies imbibed in the East are somewhat incompatible with the democratic tendencies of the West.

Most of the Members are University men. Each is supposed to have some political bias, besides being a Liberal or a Conservative. This is now too general a distinction. He is supposed to favour the Abolition of the House of Lords, or Home Rule, or Church Disestablishment, or Local Option, or Lease-hold Enfranchisement, or Reform of the House of

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Lords, or Women's Suffrage, or Technical Education, or even all these.

There is not ordinarily much eloquence in the House, and speakers are cheered by shouts and not by clapping of hands. But when Mr. Gladstone speaks, every one is all ears. The whole House is full. I heard him speak on the Irish Coercion Bill. The speech was a masterpiece of oratory: so his opponents said. There was no declamation. The orator was master of every detail of his subject, had exhausted all sources, and had arranged all his facts in well disciplined battle array. He has some mannerisms. One, that of clasping his hands behind his back. Yet his energy is never dull. His gesture is never fiery. There may be wrinkles on his face; but the man who could speak for four or five hours at a stretch must have great physical and mental energy.

The House of Commons, even though "the faithful Commons," still attends upon their Lordships on occasions of opening or proroguing of Parliament or when the royal assent is given to bills, has enormous powers and privileges as well as an individuality most marked. It has the power of the purse, of voting the national estimates and initiating almost all important legislative proposals. And yet I was somewhat disappointed with the way in which business was transacted there. They seemed to me to talk more than was necessary. Perhaps it is inseparable from popular assemblies. With all their talent and intelligence they have not yet been able to give the English public, for instance, a complete Code of Criminal Law. They have now changed their hours of sitting; from 5 P.M. to 5 A.M. was too much of a good thing, even for party politics. They would now close at 1 A.M., though if the Government thought it more convenient they would not adhere even to these hours! I asked a friend the reason of these late sittings, and was told that the public could not expect the benefit of the mercantile and the professional worlds' experience in the day time! And yet, with the exception of the Speaker, who, poor man, has to sit when every one else is

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gone, unless some member takes pity upon him and proposes the adjournment of the House, it is not always possible to find every member in his seat. They say half of these M.Ps. pass their evenings more in pursuit of pleasure than in discussing party politics or serving their country.

The office of the Speaker of the House of Commons is, however, more that of a listener and a controller of the debate than of one who takes part in the discussion. He can order a member guilty of a breach of the Rules of the House to withdraw, or to suspend one who disregards the authority of the Chair. With the consent of the House, which is seldom given, he can direct a member who persists in irrelevant argument or repetition to discontinue his speech, and when in his opinion a matter has been sufficiently discussed and it is evident to him that the sense of the House is that the question be put, to inform it in order that a motion to close the debate may be made. And yet this gentleman has not the power of taking part in the discussion except when presiding in a Committee of the whole House, or to vote except when the votes are equal!

Another curious institution of the House of Commons is the Whip, that Shepherd-dog of the British legislative flock. There are three Whips for the Government and two for the Opposition. A Whip is expected to know whether a member is in bed, or at his club, or in a theatre or elsewhere; and as soon as he is sure of the decisive moment arriving, off he sends his messengers to all quarters of the city to gather the flock.

When the question is about to be put the tumult is most indescribable, the *ayes* and the *nays* are all confused, and nobody can say who has the majority. The Speaker then rises and reads the question on which the division is about to be taken. The clerk at the table turns a sand-glass which marks two minutes in its flow, and the cry of—"Division; Strangers Withdraw" is raised. The bells begin to ring and the house fills in the twinkling of an eye. The doors are then shut. There are two large lobbies, one to the

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right and the other to the left. The "Ayes" go to the right, the "Nays" to the left. As each member passes, his name is marked off on the list in which all their names are printed. This operation is checked by tellers who are outside the lobby; and on the tellers bringing the lists, the Speaker declares the result amidst great noise and confusion.

House of Lords.

I next visited the *House of Lords.* Lord Hobhouse had procured for me a ticket for what is called the Bar, where Members of the House of Commons and other privileged visitors may come to hear the debates. The House consists of Lords Spiritual of whom there are 26, and the Lords Temporal of whom some 550, in addition to 16 Scotch and 29 Irish Peers. Of Lords Temporal about one-fourth are those who have been raised to the peerage in their own lives, while the rest are hereditary noblemen from families dating from the 13th century downwards.

The House presents a scene of dignity and order far different from the House of Commons, probably because the Sovereign is always supposed to be present there. Its Chamber, with its embossed gilding, escutcheons and stained glass windows, has more the look of a feudal than a modern building. Near the Throne, from which the Royal, or more properly the ministerial speech is read, are chairs for Members of the Royal Family. The Lord Chancellor, with his wig, sits in the centre; but he has none of the powers of the Speaker of the House of Commons, nor does he represent the order and dignity of the House, nor do noble Lords address him as they address the Speaker in the House of Commons, nor does he decide disputes as to who should speak first. They have "Contents" and "Non-contents" for the "Ayes" and "Nays" of the Commons, and the "Non-contents" prevail. The House is badly lighted, and it is not an easy thing to find your way in. There is not much oratory in the Upper House. The discussion goes on smoothly, unenlivened by cheers or hisses. On grand occasions the faithful Commons are summoned to wait upon their Lordships—a

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quaint remnant of the good old times. If the Sovereign assents to a Bill, a French phrase meaning the "King wills it" is used, otherwise they say, "the King will deliberate. The Conservative element here preponderates. I heard Lord Salisbury speaking upon the Irish Land Bill; but, though an effective speaker, I did not think him an orator like Gladstone or Bright.

In spite of all the agitation for the Abolition of the House of Lords, John Bull is too great a worshipper of the nobility to entertain the idea seriously. In the House of Commons only 200 out of some 700 members favour it. The G.O.M. is for keeping the Lords. He knows his people. The fact is that John Bull, though not a worshipper of thirty-three millions of gods like the Hindu, has money and prestige worship in his blood, unless that innermost desire of every Radical to be a Lord, or of the enterprising tradesman to be under the distinguished patronage of some Royal Duke, goes for nothing. People in England talk of liberty and equality often to get to the top of the social ladder; and, however they may sneer at the nobility, there is even in these days of liberty and equality, something charming to the English ear in the very name of Lord *So* and *So*, or the Duke of *So* and *So*. The social influence of the peer moreover filters through English society. He gives it the code of manners and fashion. How could then he be abolished except as a result of a national revolution; for which England is not at all prepared? It is all very well to talk of equality in England; but as a matter of fact there is no equality in that country. The Englishman is as great a supporter of caste as the Hindu; and, even the most radical peer in England would indignantly scout all idea of fraternity and equality. He may do a thousand acts of charity from the purest motives but certainly not from those of fraternity. English society, though it professes to be democratic, is really a very aristocratic society; and I do not see how that hereditary instinct of the people, *viz.*, to worship power and grandeur could be stifled with.

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Reform is, however, knocking hard at the door of the Lords and the general opinion seems to be that they could only be tolerated in modern England on condition of their good behaviour; and even Lord Salisbury has seen the necessity of periodical weedings of the Upper House by proposing to create a number of life peers.

General Remarks on the Government of England.

Of the Queen I shall speak further on: but, what struck me most about the *Government* of this little Island was the harmony with which the Administration was going on, almost independent of Parliament and its party politics. As Voltaire says: "The English are the only people upon earth who have been able to prescribe limits to the power of Kings by resisting them; and who by a series of struggles have at last established that wise Government where the prince is all powerful to do good and at the same time is restrained from committing evil, where the nobles are great without insolence, though there are no vassals, and where the people share in the Government without confusion."* And the reason is that the theory of the British Constitution consists in checks and oppositions, one part of its legislature bearing up and controlling the other in its avoiding, what Tennyson calls, "the falsehood of extremes," and in its distribution of political authority. "The best security," says Sir James Mackintosh, "which human wisdom can devise seems to be the distribution of political authority among different individuals and bodies, with separate interests, and separate characters, corresponding to the variety of classes of which civil society is composed, each interested to guard their own order from oppression by the rest; each also interested to prevent any of the others from seizing an exclusive and therefore despotic power; and all having a common interest to co-operate in carrying on the ordinary necessary administration of Government." Such are English institutions; affording to all, according to Sir James Mackintosh's own admirable definition of true liberty,

* Voltaire's Letters on England, No. 171 p. 50 (Cassells' National Library.)

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"protection against wrong both from their rulers and their fellows;" allowing all classes and conditions of men to be "undisturbed in the exercise of their natural powers:" offering the freest opportunity for the full development of the powers and capacities of each. "Such governments," he adds, "are, with justice, peculiarly and emphatically called free; and in ascribing that liberty to the skilful combination of mutual dependence and mutual check, I feel my own conviction greatly strengthened by calling to mind, that in this opinion I agree with all the wise men who have ever deeply considered the principles of politics—with Aristotle and Polybius, with Cicero and Tacitus, with Bacon and Machiavel, with Montesquieu and Hume. * Another great reason why the administration is almost independent of party politics is, that while Parliaments and ministries come and go, with one exception, the judiciary and the magistracy of the country remain undisturbed. So long as judges discharge the duties of their office they are not removable; and the former phrase of their holding office during the king's pleasure has now given place to their holding it during good behaviour, *i.e.*, for life. This independence of judges is, like everything else, a plant of slow growth in England; but it is now a plant that has taken deep root into its soil, and in a statute passed in the reign of George III. it was declared that: "The King looked upon the independence and uprightness of judges as essential to the impartial administration of justice, as one of the best securities of the rights and liberties of his subjects and as most conducive to the honour of the Crown." But above all, the success of the British constitution and the smoothness of its administration are due to the scrupulous respect amounting to fear that is paid in England to public opinion. Kings, Ministers, Parliaments, Judges, Magistrates, every body, are under the influence of a most searching ever-watchful public. Nothing is screened from day-light; no one is above the censorship of the press. It guides and regulates everything and thus keeps things going amidst the conflict of political parties.

*(Mackintosh's Discouse on the Law of Nature and Nations, pp. 46-51. London, 1800.)

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There is no parallel between the *Government of England* with its democratic institutions and its party politics, the party out of office trying to shove the party in office out of power and the party in office to prevent the other from coming in, and the *Government of India* which is a despotic Government, conducted by means of a close bureaucracy, but which, unlike eastern despotism, is a benevolent despotism, ruling after civilized methods and guided by public opinion. Nor again is there any comparison between the Government of England and the Government of the Native States of India with their crude ideas of administration, their intrigues, their princes generally more mindful of pleasure than duty, their sham constitutions, their lax administration of justice and their disregard of the rights of the subject. There is, however, no doubt of the British Government in India being an unparalleled institution in this country. It has given to it not only that which its own Governments in the past failed to give, that is, universal peace and security of life and property but something more, a free press and a system of public education. The material progress of India under the present régime, with its appliances of civilization, schools, courts, codes of law, roads, railways, telegraphs, and facilities for communication, makes a vivid impression even upon those who have not come under the influence of modern ideas; and, Englishmen may look back with just pride upon what their countrymen have done for India. Their work has been grand, and rightly entitles them to the gratitude of their subjects. They found the condition of the country, similar to the condition of Europe after the fall of the Roman Empire, with its mock sovereigns engrossed in the grossest pleasures and ignorant of what passed beyond the four walls of their palaces; its conspiracies and revolutions; its predatory tribes devastating the country with the rapidity of hurricanes; its Government vitiated by all the evils of despotism and anarchy; and, in the place of all this they have given it peace and order. The Mahratta

Government of India Compared with that of England.

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freebooter has been compelled to exchange the sword for the plough. The bands of plunderers who devastated the country every year have been suppressed. We have now a Government anxiously bent upon the public good; and, while maintaining strict religious toleration, it has given to the people of India a taste for the philosophy and the literature of Europe. The Indian mind, which had been debased under the influence of weak and tyrannous despotisms, has vastly expanded under the influence of the present system of education; and, the people of India would be other than human if they did not gratefully recognise these and many other blessings of British rule, or if they entertained feelings other than those of deep attachment to it. As Mr Cust fairly puts it in the preface to his *Linguistic and Oriental Essays*: "Our Administration has been based on justice, moderation, and sympathy with the people, we have to an extent—far exceeding that of the Governments of Russia and France and the wretched, ignorant mal-administration of Turkey—consulted the true interests of the people, and stayed the hands of the alien interloper, who would have confiscated the lands of the landowner to satisfy his earth-greed: we have no prison full of political offenders, and no military tyranny: the natives may go where they like, do what they like, speak what they like, and write what they like, within the reasonable provisions of the law, which is the same to all, high or low, rich or poor, native or alien: the officials are paid for their work, and supervised in their work are restrained from corruption and oppression, and can speak the vernacular of the people: there is toleration in the fullest extent, actively and passively, in deed as well as letter, to every form of religious belief or unbelief, each soul being left in individual uncontrolled responsibility to its Creator: children succeed without question to the inheritance of their parents: every section of the vast population enjoys its own law, or custom having the force of law, in all matters regarding marriage and inheritance: the blessings of a free press are enjoyed by all whether European

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or native, subject only to the reasonable law of libel against private characters."

But, like all other human institutions, the British Government cannot be called perfect. It was said by Macaulay that no nation can be perfectly well governed until it is competent to govern itself. Still the Government of India will bear favourable comparison with many of the Governments of modern Europe, and actually it is so good as to enjoy the reputation of one in which there are so few complaints against it. It has to engraft upon a despotism the blessings of liberty and public opinion, and if it now and then fail, it is not to its discredit. The very fact of it being a foreign Government must always place many difficulties in its way, for it is impossible for any foreign rulers to enter entirely into the feelings of the people or to judge of the effect of their measures from the people's point of view. Therefore all that it can attempt, and has more or less successfully attempted, is to give some of its best men a commission to look after it, to whom the opinion of their own countrymen in England can neither be much of a guide in the performance of their duty, nor a competent judge of the manner in which it has been performed; and, if there has been a failure here and there, it has not been due to any intentional omission of the recognition of its responsibitities by the Indian Government, but to some failure in not adequately understanding the wishes of its subjects: and those who have known the British character best will at once say that, let the facts of the case be placed before them and they are the people to do justice.

These being the principles of the Government of India, the question, in the words of Mr. Gladstone, arises whether constituted as it is, it can "confront the growth of the Indian mind under the very active processes of education it has itself introduced or develop the copious resource and the power of elastic adaptation which the tide of on-coming needs is certain to require." And, without venturing into details, the answer would very likely be that it requires to move much faster on the lines of progress it has already

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laid down, in the shape of the more increased employment of Indians, both in its councils as well as in the work of its administration, in order to keep itself abreast of this tide. No well-wisher of India would desire to have introduced into it the unstable democratic Government of France, already described, or the party Government of Great Britain whose promises often last till the elections, or the democracy of the United States, which those best likely to know think fails to represent the intellect, the culture and the moral sentiment of the American people. In France the error has been committed of breaking entirely with the past, of not letting, according to M. de Locqueville, "the modern spirit peaceably permeate into old institutions, of not modifying all without destroying any, with the result that the attempt to equalize all has ended in equalizing none, and the discord which has lasted for a century is still raging there with unabated vigour."* In Great Britain also, in spite of its many excellencies, party Government is not without serious drawbacks. There politics is a game, the prizes of which are offices and power, while fidelity to party is the sole virtue of the politician. Speaking of the United States on the other hand Mr. Fisher says: "The Government is below the mental and moral level even of the masses. Go among them. Talk to the farmer in his field; the blacksmith at his anvil; the carpenter at his bench—even the American labouring man who works for hire in the Northern States—and compare their conversation, so full of good sense and sound feeling, with the ignorance, vulgarity, personality, and narrow partizan spirit of an ordinary Congressional debate, and with the disclosures made by investigating committees. Evidently the mind and moral sentiment of the people are not represented."†

These pitfalls cannot be too carefully avoided in India; and all that the most ardent well-wisher of this country can legitimately demand of its Government is, more sympathy with its people, greater readiness to adapt its policy to their

* De Locqueville's *L'Ancien Règime et la Revolution* p. 340.

† *The Trial of The Constitution* p. 347.

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growing needs and aspirations and to look upon its measures not only from its own but from their eyes also, speedier fulfilment of past promises and greater consideration for their opinions. As John Bright said when presiding at a lecture delivered at the East India Association on the Higher Employment of Indians in the public service, all that he would have is more daylight, more simplicity, more responsibility in the Government of India. His hit at those who had been in India all their lives, not knowing much about that country, and that though Macaulay would have the admission of natives to high offices in India by slow degrees yet if he were here he would very likely think the degrees have been so slow that it was desirable they went a little faster, was very effective. Mr. Bright only re-echoed every Englishman's sentiments when he said that English opinion was friendly to India and the English people anxious that the Government of India should be a wise Government, and that all that was sensible and intelligent amongst the natives should have an opportunity of taking a share in that Government. Even the *Times*, which is not always fond of progressive Indians, had nothing but sympathy to express with these views. It may or may not be true that India was won by the sword, but nobody in his senses will now contend that it is governed by the sword. As the *Times* says, the sword is in the background and the power that has worked in India for the generation since the Mutiny is not mere power of the sword, but the power of law, of intelligence, and of equal justice. Nobody would for a moment find fault with the ability, honesty, love of justice, and devotion of the majority of the Indian administrators, nor are the natives of India at all ungrateful for the inestimable blessings of peace and impartial administration, but it would not do to leave things alone.

India has, as I have already said, vastly benefited from her connection with England. But England has not fared otherwise. The conquest of this country did not, as Professor Seeley says, cost England any effort or trouble. "The English people," says he, "have not paid taxes, the English

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Government has not opened loans, no conscription was ever introduced, nay no drain of men was ever perceived, no difficulty was ever felt in carrying on other wars at the same time because we were engaged in conquering a population equal to that of Europe."*

And yet this connection has vastly benefited England. And without saying that the loss of India would reduce England to a second or third rate power in Europe, or denying the enormous responsibility that the possession of India imposes upon England, or that it is a great disturbing element in its foreign policy, or that, but for this country, it would not be watching the progress of Russia in Central Asia with so much anxiety, there can be no doubt of the great impetus that India has afforded to English capital and English industry. Without it the commerce of England would not be what it is. Its Lancashire and Yorkshire would seriously suffer. Its imports of some eighty millions sterling worth of wheat and other Indian produce, its exports of some fifty-five millions worth of manufactured goods, and the vast field for employment of thousands of its people, both here and in the mother-country, would all be greatly diminished. The possession of India is thus a valuable acquisition to England; and it would be the fault of the English public itself, if it did not take that interest in its affairs which in its own interest is required, or if it did not make its Government keep pace with the progress of knowledge among its subjects.

India in Parliament.

As regards the interest shown by the British Parliament in India I was prepared for some disappointment; and, when I asked a correspondent of the Birmingham *Daily News* to point out to me the friends of India in the Commons he could not give me more than a few names. The complaint is as old as Macaulay's time; and the reason appeared to be either ignorance of Indian matters, or the vastness of Indian problems, or a vague conviction of the affairs of the great

* Seeley's *Expansion of England* p. 206.

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dependency being wisely and well administered by experienced experts from the mother-country. The statement of Mr. Gladstone that, "India was beyond the pale of party politics and was fortunate in that respect, as its wants were discerned solely on their merits and received the earnest and thoughtful attention of the most powerful supporters on both sides of the House," is, therefore, more a statement of his own benevolent intentions towards India and a contingency most to be desired by it, than of the actual state of its affairs in the British Parliament. English ministers and politicians have possibly extremely good intentions towards this country; but they seem to be generally wanting in the opportunity to seize upon the means of putting them into practice. In the Commons, I found more attention bestowed upon the case of a shop girl, whom an over zealous policeman had wrongfully arrested and an incautious magistrate had wrongfully tried, than on a budget discussion affecting the welfare of millions, possibly because while the former could shake, and nearly had shaken the then Government, the latter could never have done so.

Parliamentary Interference in Indian Matters.

Opinions differ as to the wisdom of *Parliamentary Interference in Indian Affairs*; some holding that Parliament should interfere in all cases where wrong and injustice have been done by Indian authorities, others that nothing can be more mischievous than the spasmodic interference with its imperfect information and its party politics, in the affairs of India. The truth, as it always does, lies between these extreme views. No doubt Parliament can not and should not directly interfere in Indian affairs of minor importance. Its interference in such cases is more likely to be mischievous than beneficial. But it would also be unsafe to leave the affairs of a country which, according to Sir John Gorst, its own mouthpiece in Parliament, is a "despotic country; is not a free country; a very arbitrary and very strong despotism"* without any sort of outside control

* Speech in Parliament (House of Commons) dated 16th April, 1891.

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whatever. In former times the periodical renewal of the East India Company's charters afforded the occasion for a thorough inquiry into the affairs of India, but since the assumption of its government by the crown, there has been no such occasion. The only check upon the acts of Indian authorities is therefore the possibility of their being discussed in Parliament, the feeling that they are likely at any time to be put upon their defence and that there are in England at least some Englishmen capable of arriving at a correct judgment upon Indian affairs, and whose opinion will, therefore, have influence with the rest of their countrymen. Beyond creating this sense of responsibility I see no other utility either in the off-hand debates on Indian subjects that now and then take place in Parliament, nor in the stray questions that are put to the Government by Members of Parliament interested in India, nor in the stray articles that appear on Indian subjects in English newspapers. But while the British Parliament or the British public does not and ought not directly to interfere in Indian concerns, the very fact that it can do so has some beneficial effect upon Indian authorities. It is quite likely, as was the case in the recent debate on the Opium Question, that Parliament may commit mistakes; but as knowledge of Indian affairs makes progress in the British public, as it promises to do, such mistakes shall be few and far between and shall always be liable to be corrected by the Government of the day, as was done in this case. On the other hand the Indian people cannot do better than take advantage of the present opportunity in placing before the British public true facts connected with their affairs in a spirit of calm moderation, either by a permanent association supplied with funds from India and working upon the lines of the Cobden Club in distributing pamphlets and leaflets and giving lectures and holding discussions upon Indian questions, or through resident agents properly accredited with the British Government, well paid, and supplied with full and correct information upon the wishes and desires of the natives of the various Indian presidencies.

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It was, however, some satisfaction to find people both in and out of Parliament in favour of a Parliamentary inquiry into Indian affairs. Lord Randolph Churchill's earnest interest in the subject, though not the same, did not seem to me to have quite died out. Lord Northbrook's committee appointed in 1886 was too heterogeneous a body to be of much use. A smaller and more compact body would do better. Such a committee, if appointed, might either summon leading natives from each presidency in India to give evidence before it, or depute some of its members to take evidence, like the late Famine Commission. The staunchest advocate of the Indian Government needs take no objection to the inquiry. If his own countrymen find the native view of the question right, he ought not to complain. Indians, on the other hand, have too great a faith in British justice to be afraid of their affairs being discussed by impartial judges; and I hope they may yet see their way towards giving India such an inquiry.

The India Office.

To come now to the position of the Secretary of State for India. He is a Cabinet Minister who has seldom had any training in Indian affairs, with whom the loss of a seat for his party would probably be of much more consequence than some of the most vital Indian questions. He would naturally be more often thinking of British than Indian politics. He does not remain long enough in office to acquire any great insight into the condition of this country, nor previous to his coming in office has he had any inducement to study Indian questions. Unless therefore he is an exceptionally strong and capable man, he is likely to be led by his council or by his secretaries, called at the *India Office*, departmental heads. A better plan would be that, if India is in reality, as it is in theory, independent of British party politics, the best and most capable of ex-Indian Viceroys be given the Indian port-folio irrespective of party considerations, or the constitution of the Indian council improved. The constitution of this council has of late been a subject of much

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public criticism, and some have even gone to the length of saying that it stands in the way of all reform in Indian matters. The fact is that the officials who mostly compose it are retired Indian officers who have all the virtues as well as the defects of the Indian bureaucracy, and who cannot always be free from that class bias which is inherent in all bureaucracies. They are usually men of great ability and Indian experience, and though several appointments to the Council have been free from many of those objections which were formerly urged against them, yet even now a majority of its members can not be said to be thoroughly in touch with the wants of the Indian community; and it is with a view of removing this defect that the appointment of a native of India to the Council has been advocated. Therefore the announcement lately made by the Secretary of State that it is in his power to appoint natives of India to the Council will, it is to be hoped, be carried into practice. The Council being thus made more representative than it now is, the only other reform that would make the India Office a more effective controlling body, would seem to lie in greater care being exercised in the selection of its departmental Secretaries, whose power of sitting in judgment over the Government of India is even larger than that of the Council.

As regards British politicians visiting India every cold weather, their number is already on the increase, but what they should do is to try to know both sides of Indian questions and thus carry away better and more accurate knowledge of the country and its people, in order to be able to discuss all questions concerning it in that spirit of impartiality which its peculiar circumstances demand. Many people think that India is fast drifting into the vortex of English party politics. Such a state of things cannot be too deeply regretted; and, if English politicians treat Indian questions not on their own merits but with reference to their influence at elections, the natives of India cannot do better than convince the British public that they recognize no party distinctions but wish all questions concerning their country to be discussed in a spirit of fairness and on their own merits.

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CHAPTER IV.

At Court—The Queen—The position of a Constitutional Sovereign in Europe—The Queen's Palaces—Some Jubilee Reminiscences—The Imperial Institute.

The Queen.

To an Indian who is a subject of the *Queen* it is indeed a high honour to be presented to his Sovereign; and I had the good fortune of being presented to Her Majesty in a way that I shall never forget. Soon after our arrival in London we were informed that the Queen would be pleased to receive us one morning in June. Our party was conducted to Windsor in a special train from London. The Secretary of State for India, Lord Cross, accompanied us. At the Windsor station the Queen's aide-de-camp received us and conveyed us to the castle in quaintly fashioned carriages driven by curiously dressed attendants. The town of Windsor is not at all large; but its palace has been the residence of successive English monarchs from the time of the Conquest. There is something classic about its castle; its lovely park, its numerous state and reception rooms, its historical pictures and relics, its curiously dressed attendants, all presenting a pleasing contrast to the noise and bustle and general want of order which we see in some of the palaces of our Indian Rajas. The troops presented arms to the Indian Princes who headed the party; and we were conducted through several smaller state rooms to a large drawing room, decorated with beautiful paintings, exceedingly fine Portland vases and furnished in a simple but most elegant manner. Lunch was then served to us; and, Her Majesty attended by her staff received us in the Audience Chamber, at about three in the afternoon. She is less tall than we had imagined from the pictures; and for her age is in the enjoyment of extremely good health. But what struck me most about her, was that her form is the reflection of her nature, bespeaking a gracious condescension, an air of calm dignity, an extremely mild disposition and a very affectionate nature. Her first words to the Indian Princes, "I am glad you have come here; I hope you

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will like the country; Will you kindly present to me the members of your staff:" and the gracious and kindly manner with which she acknowledged our reverences, all left a most pleasing impression upon us. Her Majesty's goodness of heart, her trials and her sorrows, have all made her the affectionate, the sympathetic and the loving Sovereign she is, towards her subjects in all parts of the globe; and no sovereign in the world commands so much attachment as she does from her subjects of many races. All her biographies, whether written by her own subjects or foreigners, rightly speak of her as the happiest woman alive, the exemplary maiden, wife, mother and sovereign; and there is no exaggeration in Macaulay's remark that her subjects have found in her "a wiser, a gentler and a happier Elizabeth."

Position of a Constitutional Sovereign.

Being a *Constitutional Sovereign,* the Queen has none of the cares nor is the victim of those disturbing influences which destroy the peace of many a despotic monarch; and yet she has, by her goodness of heart, her tact, her readiness to bow to public opinion, and her practice of never opposing Parliament, acquired all the influence of a despotic sovereign, and is not the mere signet-ring of her nation as some suppose her to be. As Mr. Gladstone says, "Although the admirable arrangements of the Constitution have now completely shielded the sovereign from personal reponsibility they have left ample scope for the exercise of a direct and personal influence in the whole work of government. The amount of that influence must vary greatly according to character, to capacity, to experience in affairs, to tact in the application of a pressure which never is to be carried to extremes, to patience in keeping up the continuity of a multitudinous supervision, and, lastly, to close presence at the seat of Government; for in many of its necessary operations, time is the most essential of all elements and the most scarce. Subject to the range of these variations, the Sovereign, as compared with her ministers, has, because she is the Sovereign, the advantages of long experience, wide survey, elevated position and entire disconnection from

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the bias of party. Further, personal and domestic relations with the ruling families abroad give opening, in delicate cases, for saying more and saying it at once more gently and more efficaciously than could be ventured in the more formal correspondence, and ruder contacts of Governments."*

And though motions in favour of the Queen's abdication, or grumblings at Royalty being too costly for John Bull, have not been uncommon, yet as a whole I think the English people to be intensely devoted to the Queen, as much for her high personal worth and her exalted position, as for her having realized her position as a Constitutional Monarch.

The Queen's Staff.

The *Queen's Staff* consists of many officials, some of whose offices are now practically sinecure. Some of them like the Mistress of the Robes, partake of the fortunes of the Cabinet. The services of others like the Master of the Horse, the Master of the Hounds, the Groom of the Chamber, the Grand Falconer, etc., are no longer required. At Windsor Castle the presentations were all made by Lord Cross, the Secretary of State for India. Only on one occasion the Duke of Connaught was present on the Queen's Staff, otherwise on both occasions we were invited to the Castle the Queen was attended by the ladies of the Royal household.

Windsor Castle.

Returning once more to the rooms of *Windsor Castle*, the large dining-room is full of old arms and emblems of all descriptions. The ceiling of the state ante-room is painted by an artist named Verrio. The Waterloo Chamber has several fine portraits by celebrated artists and the Presence Chamber is full of Gobelin tapestry, like that we saw in France. The attendants of the palace were dressed in a manner different from what we saw elsewhere; and I noticed with surprise two Hindustani Mahomedan mace-bearers on Her Majesty's staff. The fact is that she has apparently a special liking for things Indian; for it was said in London, that she was

* Gladstone's *Gleanings of Past Years* Vol. I, Pages 41-42.

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seen wearing the jewellery that had been presented to her by the Indian Princes. At all events the fact that she was reading Hindustani, even though probably she never means to come to India, or that she takes such deep interest in the Imperial Institute, shows how strong her predilections are for this country. It could not be otherwise in the face of following sentiments expressed by her when issuing her famous Proclamation of 1858: "The Queen would be glad if Lord Derby would write it himself in his own excellent language, bearing in mind that it is a female Sovereign who speaks to more than a hundred millions of Eastern people on assuming the direct Government over them after a bloody civil war, giving them pledges which her future reign is to redeem, and explaining the principles of Government. Such a document should breath feelings of generosity, benevolence and religious toleration, and point out the privileges which the Indians will receive on being placed on an equality with the subjects of the British Crown, and the prosperity following in the train of civilization." The Indian people also return this love by showing her their thorough devotion as is proved from the brilliant reception everywhere accorded to her sons, the enthusiasm with which her Jubilee was celebrated by all sections of the community and the sympathy shown in her many bereavements.

Buckingham Palace.

Not only had I the honour of being presented to Her Majesty at Windsor, but was invited to a garden party at *Buckingham Palace.* This building, although it cost a million sterling, is however, not a handsome building. Its rooms are very dark even in the day time, and it is said that the place would give one rheumatism if one were to live in it. It is not used by the Queen except to hold such gatherings. But even for these it is altogether unworthy of the Empress of India. The garden party at the Palace was a very large one. More than three thousand people—the cream of London society—were there. Besides meeting several old friends and acquaintances, I had here the honour of being introduced to Baroness Burdett-Coutts and Mr. Gladstone. Of the latter's

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eloquence I have already spoken. The Baroness is the richest woman in England, and is well known for her many charities and projects for benefiting her countrymen. She was about seventy three years of age when I saw her; and though age had produced its effects upon her, yet she is quite youthful in spirit; otherwise, at her age she could not have married Mr. Ashmead Bartlett, a young American of about thirty years of age. The Baroness's polished manners charmed me greatly. Her many charities have made her beloved in England; and I hope she will live for many years more to do good to her fellow creatures, and even more largely carry out her maxim —that the best way to do good is to do it.

At the garden party the Queen and the other ladies of the Royal Family were in a pavalion about which snobs and flunkies flocked in large numbers to the inconvenience of their Royal hostess. The Queen left it about sunset; and the ladies assembled bent to do her reverence with as much suppleness as the English backbone is capable of, and the gentlemen formed themselves into a line to let her pass. Altogether the ceremonial was a very enjoyable one.

Royal Levée.

The next Court ceremonial which I attended was the *Royal Levée* at the official residence of the English Court, which is called the Court of St. James. The Palace was originally an hospital for fourteen sisters, "leperous maidens." Its rooms are larger and have certainly more light than those of Buckingham Palace. It is used for holding Royal Levées and other ceremonies in the day time. The Levée is held by the Prince of Wales who acts for the Queen. There are two circles, the inner and the outer: the inner corresponds with the private entrée. In the latter I was squeezed and packed in with about two thousand gentlemen in military uniforms or court dress consisting of short velvet jackets, silk knickerbockers, patent leather pumps, diamond buttons and small swords. Here also I met several of our distinguished Anglo-Indian friends, Judges of the High Court, Agents, Governors-General and others. The Political Aide-de-Camp of the India

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Office presents Indians at these Levées, and as the number of those to be presented is not large, he has not much reading out of names to go through on these occasions. The Prince of Wales was in a military uniform. He appeared to be less formal than a correspoding functionary would be in India. The case with his staff was also the same, and instead of standing like mute-figures, as they do at India levées, more than one friend of the inner circle kept me talking, even though on account of the crowd I should have preferred to pass on. The whole function lasted for about two or three hours; but as these Royal confirmations make one belong to the upper ten thousand and give him the right of demanding letters of introduction to British ambassadors when travelling on the continent, the honour is largely coveted; and gives much business not only to the Lord Chamberlain's office, but to professors of etiquette, who, for so many shillings will drill you into court etiquette.

Eastern Darbars.

The contrast between these Western ceremonials and those held in Eastern Courts is great. The latter are gayer and less sober than the former. There is of course more bustle and pomp and necessarily some confusion, but certainly less squeezing and packing in an *Eastern Darbar*. Some Indian princes are fond of holding as many of these Darbars as possible during the year. Instead of their issuing a notification in the *Gazette* or cards of invitation, a mace-bearer takes round a list of the persons to be invited. If the prince is expected to come at six in the evening his *darbaris* (guests) are required to be in their places two or three hours earlier. The Darbar Hall, which is usually the largest and the best in the palace, is fitted with large chandeliers, mirrors and other articles of imported furniture. Unless Europeans are invited to it, the prince and his *darbaris* all squat, the former at the head of the room on a *gaddi* with a clean white mattress supported by a huge bolster, the latter in two long rows, one consisting of the prince's jagirdars, relations, cousins, military officers, etc., and the other of his civil officials. The prince or his courtiers do not dress in black but in bright colours and wear

as much jewellery as each can afford. All carry a sword, though some have probably never used it. A dancing girl, accompanied by a party of musicians, sings without moving from her place. The chief's arrival is announced by heralds holding silver sticks shouting: "May your life and wealth increase (umar deulat ziada, maharban salamat)." All present rise, and as soon as he has taken his seat, go to him and make three low salams. *Nazars*, consisting of one or two gold *mohars* for the chief and two or four rupees for his servants, are then presented by each *darbari*, the prince sometimes not even touching the *nazar* or looking at the person presenting it. In some States these presents cause a heavy drain on the resources of those who make them; to some of them they mean the loss of a month's income during the year. On great festivals like the Basant Panchmi or Holi, yellow water or red powder is thrown over the *darbaris* in honour of the occasion. On other days they are dismissed with presents of *pan-supari*, sweets, etc. Social gatherings in the shape of garden parties are not held in native courts except in honour of European guests. On the contrary *nautch* parties, wrestling matches, bull fights, etc., are held on festive occasions. These are very popular, and people of all classes are free to visit them.

SOME REMINISCENCES OF THE QUEEN'S JUBILEE.

The *Queen's Jubilee* was not so much a personal demonstration in honour of the Queen as of the progress the British Nation had made during the fifty years preceding it. They took stock of their progress, and found to their satisfaction that the period had been marked by progress everywhere, in the extension of territory, in the growth of colonies and dependencies, and in science and art, as well as in the general happiness and prosperity of the people. Yet, as the *Times* said at the time, "much still remained towards making the condition of the poor creditable to a civilized nation, and the lessons of the Jubilee would be lost if the progress made

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during the fifty years past did not guide them to fresh efforts and new endeavours after a higher national ideal, if they did not resolve that fifty years hence their children shall be able to say that they sought after virtue and took counsel with wisdom, and made happier for them a world which their fathers had made more prosperous for them." Lessons which are even more useful for India than for England. To the Queen herself the Jubilee Celebration was a compliment "for the purity of her life, and the purity of her Court."

To be present at such a gathering was therefore not only an honour but a privilege also; and I shall not forget the splendid representative gathering in Westminster Abbey or the crowds outside occupying every window, balcony, and every other place available, to do honour to their Sovereign. Such an enthusiastic crowd of Englishmen is seldom seen in England. Entering the Abbey by the Poets' Corner door, I was at once taken to a seat in a gallery close to the diplomatic gallery. The assembly was the grandest of its kind that one sees in England. There were princes of the Royal blood, foreign royalties—ladies in their spring fashions, gentlemen in their court dresses, judges in their ermine, peers in their robes, diplomatic officials in their uniforms, etc., etc. It was a gathering of more than 5,000 people; and so highly was the privilege valued that some people who had been invited to it, sold their tickets for many pounds! The Queen was in her state robes; and her arrival was the occasion for the display of an enthusiasm of the deepest and warmest character possible. The whole scene vividly recalled to the mind of a Hindu, a Raja Suyayagya of the old Hindu times where minor kings and nobles acknowledged their fealty to the paramount chief, and which the latter celebrated in honor of his having conquered every minor potentate. That portion of the prayer, where they thanked the Almighty for the abundance of dominion wherewith he had enlarged and exalted the Queen's Empire and for the love of her in which He had knit in one the hearts of many nations, was very characteristic. Even Russia, which is not considered as a very friendly power to England, joined in its congratulations

and wished the Queen a reign of many years to come over a happy people. I would have given anything for an Eastern potentate greeting his kinsmen as the Queen did hers after the service. The mottoes and quotations put up at the Jubilee illuminations and other places also showed how greatly the Queen was loved by her subjects. "One touch of nature makes the whole world kin." "Thy Jubilee is marked by love and tenderness." "All their own and given to them by All." "Wife, mother, friend, not Queen alone." "Queen of faith, freedom, pure and wise," etc. John Bull is too sensible to spend his labour and money for nothing, or to waste his energy in flimsy sentimentality. London was at the time mad with Jubilee fever and Jubilee balls, Jubilee dinners, Jubilee fêtes, Jubilee books were the order of day. I shall not attempt to describe these, with the exception of the Jubilee illuminations which were in some respects different from those in India on such occasions. Instead of employing small earthen lamps and placing them in rows, as they do out here with much effect, they employed coal gas and electricity, arranging the lamps in as impressive a manner as possible. On that occasion the crowd was so great that the London police had declined to be responsible for the lives of the people! No carriages were allowed in any of the principal streets; all of which presented a sea of human beings rolling backwards and forwards. Here, as on other occasions my Indian dress proved to me of some advantage. But for that dress and the kind care of certain friends who had accompanied me, I would not have been able to enjoy the sight and return home unmolested by the immense crowd in the streets. The crowd presented a scene somewhat similar to what one sees in India on occasions of grand fairs, only there were more women than are seen at Indian fairs. Their principal amusement appeared to be—for the women to tickle people's backs or throw water with squirts, and for the men to sing "Ho! ho! the Jubilee," "Singing, Rule Britania," etc., all showing that they enjoyed themselves in the same rough and hearty manner as the masses of our Indian towns do on such occasions.

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Treatment of Indian Princes in England.

Another Jubilee festivity which interested me much was the Volunteer March Past in front of the Buckingham Palace, but which gave rise to some well-founded complaints on the part of the *Indian Princes* regarding their *treatment in England.* On this occasion the carriages of these princes were not allowed to enter by the same principal entrance as those of the Queen and other foreign royalties, but by a small side entrance reserved for those of the English nobility and gentry who were invited to it. The Indian princes and their staff were, moreover, not accommodated in the same pavilion as the Queen and the other foreign princes, but in a separate one, which gave offence to some of them. This, considering the occasion for which they had been invited, had better not have been done. It may be that some of them, who had visited London during that period, could not make themselves at home there, because of their inability to adopt English manners. Others probably went out of their way in openly showing their disappointment in not meeting the hospitality they had expected or in not finding London to be the veritable paradise they had conjured themselves before their imagination, while some of them did not probably conduct themselves in the way that was expected of them. Yet it cannot be denied that their reception in England was somewhat too cold and formal and unworthy of the occasion for which they had been invited. Their ideas of hospitality are not confined to inviting their guests to public ceremonials or investing them with titles. They are not satisfied till they have lodged, fed, fêted them and attended to their comforts to the best of their means. This is also the case with ideas of hospitality in Western countries, and it is inexplicable why it was not done for the native princes who attended the Queen's Jubilee. It was probably done unintentionally; though with the increase of native princes and gentlemen going to Europe every year, it was time that the Lord Chamberlain and the India Office revised their code of hospitality and treated Orientals more after their own fashion. Your continental or savage royalties

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may be entitled to greater respect on account of their independence or family connection, but the loyalty and good-will of the princes and people of India are also worth something; and I would not like them to return from England with the idea that their treatment there was as stiff and formal as it is in India.

The Volunteer March Past at Buckingham Palace was, after the service in Westminster Abbey, one of the greatest sights I had ever seen in England. There were 20,000 men of all descriptions. The movement originated in 1859 at one of those panics that so often attack the English nation. At the time I saw it the total enrolled was a little over 2,20,000, so that only a tenth of the force appears to have turned up for the occasion. The institution is very popular, for from the Prince of Wales to the shop boy, every body is anxious to be a volunteer and wear the Queen's uniform. There were Rifles, Mounted Rifles, Artillery, Light Horse, Naval Volunteers, Highlanders with their bag-pipes, etc., etc., and as each regiment passed and presented arms to the Queen, it was heartily cheered by the crowd on the other side of the fence. The Prince of Wales and his son were both in command of their respective regiments and presented arms in the usual manner. To me the get-up of the corps, their arms and their equipments as well as their movements, appeared to be equal to that of any company of regulars. Foreign critics think that as a body British volunteers do not form an effective force. But England is not a military power and her regular force, though a good force for action on the defensive, is not sufficient for offensive purposes. Her volunteers are thus a good supplement to it; and I think them to be a body of whom their country may reasonably be proud.

Natives of India have also come to recognise the importance of wearing arms in defence of their country and are persistently claiming the privilege. It is merely a question of "trust and fear not," and it remains to be seen if the Government would care to utilise and give something to do

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to those Jats, Rajputs and other fighting people who find time hanging heavily upon their hands, and thus give some relief to the Indian tax-payer. Indians are too loyal to abuse the privilege, and it is not your educated man or man of substance who will give you trouble, but the hungry unemployed rough, or the landless creditor-ground ryot, whom you might fear and upon whom your gentleman volunteer would be a great check.

The Imperial Institute.

More important than all these ceremonials for the hour, and by far the most permanent memorial of the Queen's Jubilee, is the *Imperial Institute,* the foundation of which was laid by Her Majesty with great *eclat,* on 4th July 1887. The Queen takes great interest in this institution and has shown it by subscribing to it handsomely. Up to this time some £4,50,000—of which about £1,00,000 came from India, £2,50,000 from the United Kingdom and £1,00,000 from the Colonies—have been subscribed or promised. The building will cost about £3,00,000, and it would serve not only as a place for "representing the arts and manufactures of the Queen's Indian and Colonial Empires but also for the discussion of Indian and Colonial subjects." It will, as its committee say, comprise, "1st., conference rooms and a grand hall common to both the Home and the Colonial sections; 2ndly, the Colonial and Indian sections, which will serve to illustrate the great commercial and industrial resources of the Colonies and India and to spread a knowledge of their progress and social condition;" and 3rdly, the United Kingdom section, the design of which will be "to exhibit the development during Her Majesty's reign, and the present condition of the natural and manufactured products of the United Kingdom, and to afford such stimulus and knowledge as will lead to still further development and thus increase the industrial prosperity of the country." The Colonial section will contain the best natural and manufactured products of the Colonies and India, typical collections thereof being circulated throughout the United Kingdom. A hall will also be reserved for the discussion of Colonial and Indian subjects, and for receptions connected with the

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Colonies and India. Colonial and Indian libraries will also be formed, and in connection therewith reading and intelligence rooms established. The collection and diffusion of the fullest information in regard to the industrial and material condition of the Colonies will also be a prominent feature of the institution, so as to enable intending emigrants to acquire all requisite knowledge, such information being supplemented by simple and practical instruction. Facilities will, moreover, be afforded for the exhibition of works of Colonial and Indian Art, and means provided for occasional special exhibitions of Colonial and Indian produce and manufactures. Side by side with the arts and manufactures of the United Kingdom, India and the Colonies, the Institute will show models illustrating naval architecture, engineering, mining and architectural works; will comprise a library for industrial, commercial and economic study, containing works treating of the inventions made both in England as well as in other countries, serving at the same time as an examining body for artizans in connection with the scheme of technical education now set on foot in England. It will thus be a "*Conservatoire des Artes et Métiers* for England and her dependencies, and judging from the fact that since 1887, when the idea originated, strenuous efforts have been made towards its realization, it ought to accomplish its ideal of uniting the Colonies and India more closely to the Mother country and cement the Empire together into one Imperial Federation. The scheme, though an ambitious one even if partially realized, will be a more fitting memorial of the Queen's Jubilee than even the service in the Westminster Abbey or any statue by Boehm. The money subscribed for by India will at all events be amply repaid if it only helps Indian youths in being trained in the arts and manufactures of the West.

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CHAPTER V.

Some Public Men and Politicians I have known—English Oratory—London Clubs and their Politics—Non-Political Associations—The Poor Law System—The Temperance Movement.

Lord Ripon.

I have had the good fortune of meeting more than one English nobleman, both in England as well as in India, and have always derived much pleasure from such visits. I shall commence with *Lord Ripon* who shall long be known in India as the people's Viceroy. They look upon Lord Ripon as a second Rama; upon his administration as one of the brightest periods of British Indian history. Even Lord Ripon's opponents give him credit for good intentions, but think him to be an unpractical dreamer, even though he carried with him the love and affection of the whole Indian community. Lord Ripon did not advocate any radical measures. He merely tried to put into practice those principles of justice which British statesmen, the British Parliament and the British Queen had long before laid down as the guiding principles for the administration of India, and it is a wonder that he achieved so much success in the face of so much opposition. His immense popularity lies in his sympathy for the people; and what they say of Gladstone is true of him, *viz.*, "The people understood their man. They knew that he was actuated by the highest and purest motives, that though liable to err, his intentions were honest, and they responded by turning out to a man to honour him."

I have had the honour of more than one interview and much interesting conversation with the noble Lord upon some of the more prominent Indian questions, and always left him greatly impressed with his anxious desire to do all possible good to this country. Even after his retirement I found his interest in India as keen as ever. Instead of sinking into comparative insignificance on his return home, as is the case with many Indian politicians, he is still honoured and

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respected by his own party and all who know him, and is sure to occupy even a more prominent place in the next Liberal Ministry than he did in the last.

Lord Dufferin.

His successor, *Lord Dufferin*, whom his own countrymen consider to be one of the two Saviours of the Empire in times of difficulty, has been variously judged in India. I met the late Viceroy more than once, and was always struck with his extremely polished manners, his broad sympathies, his ready grasp of Indian subjects and his anxiety to do all possible good that lay in his power. Had he succeeded Lord Lytton, he would have been much more popular with Indians; and being what he was, Lord Dufferin could not be the enemy of progressive Indians he has been represented to be. It was he who gave them the Public Service Commission and recommended the enlargement of the sphere of Legislative Councils in accordance with their wishes.

Lord Cross.

The present Secretary of State for India, *Lord Cross*, who is a lawyer and who is said to have done much to further the ends of justice and to promote the welfare, health and comfort of the great industrial class so important to his country, greatly impressed me with his cheerful manners both when I was introduced to him in Windsor Palace as well as when I met him in other places. I had some conversation with him upon the administration of justice and other Indian topics; and thought at the time that he would be in a much better position to do good to this country if he travelled through it like Lord Randolph Churchill.

Sir John Gorst.

The late Under Secretary of State for India, *Sir John Gorst*, with whose replies to Indian questions in Parliament, every body in India is familiar, is also a lawyer. He is universally recognised as a very clear Parliamentary debator and a member of the celebrated "Fourth Party" of the Radical Conservatives headed by Lord Randolph Churchill. This slenderly built and extremely intelligent looking Tory-Radical is a disciple of a school which is a contradiction in terms, and I was greatly

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astonished at his intimate knowledge of Indian subjects as well as of those discussed by the native papers. People in parliament do not look upon Sir John Gorst as at all opposed to Indian progress; but I wish next time he comes to India he would extend his travels beyond Hyderabad and Calcutta, and follow his leader's example in getting first-hand information.

Lord Randolph Churchill.

Lord Randolph Churchill's name is now well known in India. This erratic, dashing, let-me-alone Tory-leader is now a force to be reckoned with both by friends and foes in the country. Yet it is as much a mistake to call him a Tory as a Liberal. He is of his own school, which we may call Churchillian. His friends and foes are, according to him, "both doomed mediocrities, ready to lay the burden of their exposed incapacity upon him." His immense popularity lies in his acting up to his conviction that, in those days of Radicalism and Socialism and Universal suffrage, the old Conservatism with its ideas of the divine right of kings, is doomed. Though not the official parliamentary leader, his influence is felt in the House of Commons. I found him as pleasant in London as in India, where I had met him first. He looks upon India as "the great free market, as the one great port of the world where British manufactures enter without being burdened by duties or any other hindrances." India to him is "worth more than a farthing," and, "without India the unemployed in Birmingham would reach such enormous numbers as to become dangerous to social order," and he would not tolerate the idea of "its safety or security being even so much as threatened by a foreign power."

Lord Hobhouse.

Lord Hobhouse, formerly Legal Member of the Governor-General's Council and now one of the Judicial Members of the Privy Council, has, along with Lady Hobhouse, taken a very prominent part in all questions of Indian Social Reform. At his house in Bruton street I had the good fortune of meeting littérateurs like Sir Edwin Arnold, the Editor of the *Contemporary Review* and others. He appeared to me to

be full of sympathy for the Indians; and the speech that he gave upon his return home showed that he had fully recognized the justice of their claims.

Mr. Munro-Ferguson.

Mr. Munro-Ferguson, Lord Rosebery's Secretary, is a rising politician in England. To him I owed my first visit to the House of Commons. His sister Miss Ferguson is a prominent member of Mrs. Fawcett's Association for extending the parliamentary franchise to women.

Mr. Samuel Smith.

Mr. Samuel Smith's name is well known in Liverpool. It is becoming known in India also for his broad sympathies with this country. He is rightly proud of having devoted "a life-time in improving the condition of the poor, in inquiring into the causes of distress, as well as in relieving misery in every conceivable way." According to him, drink, want of thrift and forethought and absence of industrial training, are the chief causes of the miseries of the English poor; and he would put down drink and add to the present compulsory education in the three R.s, something which would make people good carpenters, tailors, mechanics, cooks, etc., occupations which are as necessary for India as for England. Mr. Smith is a judicious observer of things, and in India he showed much discrimination in judging of what he was told. His speeches on Indian affairs bid fair to place him in the rank of Fawcett and Bright; and it speaks volumes for his sense of justice in urging the re-imposition of Indian cotton duties. He says that though aware of the unpalatableness of this suggestion to his Manchester friends, and though interested in the trade himself, justice requires them to think of what is good for India. But the question is, Will any British Government have courage enough to re-impose those duties in the face of Manchester influence?

Mr. (now Sir) S. King.

Mr. (now Sir) Seymour King, the East India Agent and Banker and a Conservative, would charm anybody by his agreeable manners and obliging disposition. In fact, I owe him the pleasure I derived

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from my visit to the North of England and to Scotland. I was much pleased with the interest he showed in the native States of India; and he seemed a little disappointed when I told him how badly some of them were governed. He insisted on having a remedy; and I told him that it lay in greater public attention being directed to their affairs.

Sir Roper Lethbridge.

To *Sir Roper Lethbridge*, late Press Commissioner of India, I also owe the pleasure I experienced in meeting the many friends to whom he had introduced me. Sir Roper's interest in India is keener than ever; and his speeches on Indian affairs show that he deserves well of this country.

Sir William Wedderburn.

Sir William Wedderburn's sympathies for India have secured to him a place in the hearts of its natives, and nobody would welcome more than they, his return to Parliament.

Mr. Ilbert.

Mr. Ilbert has already identified himself with Indian progress and Indian aspirations; and it was refreshing to find him as great a lover of India now as when he had to face all the odium and obloquy of his countrymen in identifying himself with Lord Ripon's policy. I hope soon to see him raised to the peerage.

Mr. John Bright.

It was a pleasure to gods and men to hear *John Bright*: and I had the privilege of hearing him on a subject which is very congenial to every Indian. It was on the occasion of a lecture on the higher employment of natives at the East India Association, which, for this occasion at least, did not look quite lifeless. John Bright did not go into any details, but nobody could for a moment mistake what he thought of the question. Perfectly calm and quite, he sought to persuade his opponents by the force of his arguments and the sincerity of his views. His eloquence was even more full of heart than Gladstone's; and no better models for those Indians who desire to cultivate the art of oratory can be prescribed. Carlyle has said that there is nothing more hateful than an eloquent man telling lies, and his definition of political oratory

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is, "beautiful lies beautifully told." But the Chelsea sage probably referred to the mass of speech-making that one finds in England and not to the eloquence of men like Gladstone and Bright. The latter is considered by Justice McCarthy to be an orator by nature, not as much for the brightness of his parts but for his profound convictions. A man who, without any University training, could be one of the greatest orators of his time, and make his influence felt in that very fastidious body, the British House of Commons, merely by learning public speaking at social gatherings in his small provincial town, must be an extraordinary man indeed. Such a man was John Bright, because of whom people hesitate to consider Gladstone as the greatest orator of his time. All his speechs, whether on Indian or Colonial subjects or on those concerning his own country, show the same depth of feeling, the same candour and the same sincerity. No native of India could have pleaded his cause with more warmth than did John Bright in 1853 and 1858. On the former occasion, after referring to a speech made by Lord Palmerston, he said, "Let us not resemble the Romans merely in our national privileges and personal security. The Romans were great conquerors, but where they conquered, they governed wisely. The nations they conquered were impressed so indelibly with the intellectual character of their masters, that, after fourteen centuries of decadence, the traces of civilization are still distinguishable. Why should not we act a similar part in India? There never was a more docile people, never a more tractable nation. The opportunity is present, and the power is not wanting. Educate the people of India, govern them wisely, and gradually the distinctions of caste will disappear, and they will look upon us rather as benefactors than as conquerors. And if we desire to see Christianity, in some form, professed in that country, we shall sooner attain our object by setting the example of a high-toned Christian morality than by any other means we can employ."* Again in 1858 he said, "I do not make any comment upon the mode

* Bright's Speeches by Rogers, P. E. p. 17.

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in which this country has been put in possession of India. I accept that possession as a fact. There we are; we do not know how to leave it, and therefore let us see if we know how to govern it. It is a problem such as, perhaps, no other nation has had to solve. Let us see whether there is enough of intelligence and virtue in England to solve the difficulty. In the first place, then, I say, let us abandon all that system of calumny against the natives of India which has lately prevailed. Had that people not been docile, the most governable race in the world, how could you have maintained your power for 100 years? Are they not industrious, are they not intelligent, are they not—upon the evidence of the most distinguished men the Indian Service ever produced—endowed with many qualities which make them respected by all Englishmen who mix with them? I have heard that from many men of the widest experience, and have read the same in the works of some of the best writers upon India. Then let us not have these constant calumnies against such a people. They are a people whom you have subdued, and who have the highest and strongest claims upon you—claims which you cannot forget—claims which, if you do not act upon, you may rely upon it, that, if there be a judgment for nations—as I believe there is for individuals—our children in no distant generation must pay the penalty which we have purchased by neglecting our duty to the population of India."*

Lord Harris.

Lord Harris, the late Under Secretary for War, whom I had the honor of meeting at the War Office in Pall Mall, and who is now Governor of Bombay, is deservedly popular in England for his success at cricket. I had some talk with him upon the question of Indians being allowed to serve as volunteers; and my visits to Woolwich and Enfield were entirely due to his courtesy in not only sending me the necessary tickets but also in arranging for my being shown every thing in those interesting places. His Lordship has since come to India; and his speeches, whether in the native States of Kathiawar or

* Bright's Speeches by Rogers, (P. E.) pp. 31-32.

in the various municipalities of the Bombay Presidency, show that he is as practical an administrator as he is a clever cricketer.

I met several other politicians in London: some of them I shall name in connection with the Clubs where I met them; others I need not name, as their names are not known to the majority of Indian readers. I shall now enter some of the Clubs—those veritable palaces in Pall Mall.

CLUBS AND THEIR POLITICS.

London boasts of a hundred principal *Clubs*, some of which are fine buildings, well furnished, and full of every luxury. But it costs forty guineas entrance fee and ten guineas annual subscription to be a member of the principal ones. Every M. P. is however supposed to belong to one of these principal Clubs. Any letter directed to him at his Club would reach him. Here he often asks his friends to dinner or lunch, which is generally good. The names of some of them are very curious, for instance, the "Cigar," the "Beef Steak," the "Savage," the "Thatched House Club," etc., etc.

Of these the Northbrook Club only admits and chaperons natives of India for the modest sum of £10 per annum. This society also proposes to ventilate Indian questions; but I found it stopping short at asking grandees from India to dinners and soirées. The larger Clubs are more powerful: one of them, the Cobden, has been doing much good work in the direction of Free Trade by the distribution of millions of tracts and pamphlets, and earnestly preaching its doctrines every where. I met several friends at these Clubs: Mr. Farquharson, at the Junior United Service; Professor Hunter at the National Liberal; Sir William Wedderburn at the Northbrook, and other people elsewhere. Some of these acquaintances I shall always remember with pleasure. Dr. Farquharson, the Gladstonian Member for Aberdeen, appears to be somewhat in earnest upon the question of the Opium Monopoly, which like many others he thinks to be demoralizing, though if he is anxious to do good to India, there are

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many other and more pressing questions worthy of attention. Mr. Clarke, another Gladstonian Liberal, the Consul General of the South African Republic, and a writer on social and economic questions, appears also to take a vivid interest in India. He is very outspoken: for in a public speech he openly charged the Prime Minister with want of good faith in connection with his despatch on the Indian Civil Service. He is very much for having an association for ventilating Indian matters in England. Professor Hunter of Aberdeen, who met me at the National Liberal Club, has also more than once spoken in favour of India. This benevolent-looking, cheery Scotchman is always ready with his repartee, and one would at once take a liking to him. Nothing seemed to surprise him; and every trouble or misgovernment in the East had for him a parallel in the history of the West. Whenever I told him of how things were done in India, he would reply: "Yes, so it was in Europe a hundred years ago." I should very much like to see the learned Professor pay us a visit some cold weather.

In India the simple villager has his *Chowpal* for the Club in the civilized West. Here he accommodates his guests and passes his evenings in the company of his fellow villagers in discussing, not the question of Home Rule for Ireland, the last Budget, or the loss of a seat to his party, but the latest news from his Tehsil; how he was fleeced by the lower fry of the officials when he went to pay his revenue or register his bond; the exactions of his money-lender, how the latter got him to write a bond without paying him a farthing in return; the visits of his district officials, how their menials pounced upon him for supplies; the loss of his crops from draught or hail; the high prices of food grains; the bad harvest; the misery and hunger with which he has to pass his days, etc., etc. And yet he is not so unhappy as his counterpart in the West. He believes his troubles to be due to his actions in a past birth, and passes his days with a calm indifference which furnishes a strong contrast to the angry discontent and excited feelings of the poor in more civilized countries.

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The educated Indians in the Presidency towns are also commencing to have their Clubs on English models; but the question is, Whether this sort of imported luxury is not too dear for India?

NON-POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS.

It is however not in the number of its political and other Clubs only that London is rich, the number of its charitable societies and *Non-political Associations* is also larger than that of any other city in Europe. There are benevolent societies for all sorts of purposes, religious, social, moral, provident institutions for people of various trades and professions; asylums for idiots, the blind, the deaf, the dumb and the fatherless; homes for destitute children, for waifs and strays, for working boys and working girls; societies for the propogation of the Gospel in foreign countries, and others too numerous to detail. Their number comes to about a thousand; and their revenues to about five millions of pounds sterling per annum. Some of them have names and objects possible in, or required only for, European countries: for instance, "The National Foot-Path Preservation Society" for preventing attempts to close foot-paths and commons; "Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children;" "Society for the Suppression of Mendicity;" "Society for the Promotion of Permanent and Universal Peace," etc., etc.

National Indian Association.

I was however naturally more interested in associations which concerned themselves with Indian questions. Of these the *National Indian Association* is by far the most respected. Social reform and progress in India are its *forte*, but it also assists natives of India who may be visiting or studying in England with advice; and with the object of promoting social intercourse between Europeans and natives organizes lectures, soirées, etc. Much of this good work is done by its devoted Secretary, Miss Manning, who often proves to be the good angel of many an Indian in London. Her co-adjutors, like Lord and Lady Hobhouse, further her objects by asking

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natives of India to meet personages high in London society; but Miss Manning is the life and soul of the movement. Her magazine is always readable, and the articles are well written. But I think it is time that the Association did something more towards bringing a strong English public opinion to bear upon social questions in India, and prepare Government to take energetic steps in the matter.

Miss Manning's visit to India will, it is hoped, do good both to Indians as well as to the work she has thrown herself so earnestly into. She was well received throughout the country; and acquired more knowledge of its people in the few months that she was here, than most people do in as many years.

The Vegetarian Society.

There is another Society which has also some interest for a Hindu vegetarian. I mean *The Vegetarian Society.* Doctors differ as to whether a pure or a mixed diet is more conducive to health. The practical example of the Indian Purabia, that great component of the native army, argues in favour of the former. The Hindus are vegetarians as a class, but they are none the worse for it. I determined to try, and successfully tried, the experiment of vegetarianism even in the cold climate of the West. The Society, however, bases their foundation upon sanitary and economic grounds, and rightly too, for I am told that three-fourths of the meat sold in London is diseased; and I found in practice that a vegetarian dinner of the best sort, did not cost half as much as an ordinary one of soup, fish-cutlets, etc. The Society is making some headway amongst the working classes, and it ought soon to reckon amongst its members not a few thousand but millions. In India the consumption of beef has a religious aspect; and the slaughter of cows, however innocent to the Western eye, often leads to much fighting and bloodshed amongst Hindus and Mahommedans. From an economic point of view also, this wholesale destruction of cows has caused deterioration of the breed of bullocks, that mainstay of the Indian agriculturist, as well as decrease in the supply of milk and butter, those

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great supports of the Hindu vegetarian. It might therefore be worth serious consideration of the patriot and the philanthropist, whether beef is at all a necessary article of diet in India and whether the slaughter of cows should not be prohibited by law. I hope the Vegetarian Society will take up the question and advocate it. The Temperance League would make many more converts among our young people who are leaving their old habits for a mixed diet and the fiery-water in the belief that it improves to their health! Hindus of the old class rightly attribute this to the dissolving influence of English education. I may, however, tell our youngsters that if they but adhered to their old habits, they would not only enjoy better health, but more than half solve the caste question on return from Europe.

Another society in which I took some interest was the Society for the Prevention of Blindness. Doctor Roth is the life and soul of the movement for the prevention of physical deformities. His Society has been doing some capital work in disseminating knowledge of ocular hygiene through hundreds of thousands of well-written pamphlets. The Society estimates the number of blind in Europe at 3,00,000 and thinks that two-thirds of these are blind from ignorance and neglect. The number of the blind in India can be known from the Census reports. But the number of half-blind school boys, due to bad type, insufficient diet, want of exercise, and bad light both at home and at school is alarmingly on the increase in India, and a Society like Dr. Roth's is as badly wanted here as in England. But where is that spirit of self-sacrifice? Dr. Roth proved to me that the body of the young could be developed without any gymnastic apparatus, and I am glad his system has been adopted in many public schools in England. Writing to me on the subject of social reform he says:—

"Your great Reform Association should pay much attention to scientific physical education in all schools, in elementary, higher, college and university schools. According to my view the physical education of girls and women is even more important for the procreation of a healthy,

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NOTE TO PAGE 98.

After the above had been printed off serious riots have taken place in various parts of India between the Hindus and the Mahomedans on the Cow and other questions, causing much loss of life, creating much bitter feeling between communities which have always lived peaceably and impeding the progress and prosperity of both. Such disgraceful outbursts of fanaticism on either side cannot be too strongly condemned; and I hope that nothing that has been said above on the question of the slaughter of cows being prohibited or regulated by law, will be interpreted to mean that I in any way approve of the way in which the law has been defied or peace disturbed or the tactics employed by either section of the community in setting it against the other. On the contrary, with all lovers of India I am most anxious that the two communities should, as they have been doing hitherto, live peaceably and amicably; and no one shall regret more than I the disturbance of those cordial relations which have hitherto subsisted among them. At the same time I feel it to be the first and foremost duty of every person of influence in either community to do his best to prevent the recurrence of such disgraceful disturbances. If he fails to do so he is not entitled to be called the leader of his community nor to the higher privileges he demands from the Government of the country.

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vigorous and energetic race, and there is no doubt that it enables persons in various stations of life to do their duties better and to have a certain amount of health, strength, perseverance, skill and activity of the body, acuteness of the senses, cheerfulness, manliness, activity and presence of mind, courage, beauty of soul, and strength of the thinking faculties. You will admit that many of your countrymen are much in want of several of these qualities, and whoever assists in developing them will do good service." Words which I hope will carry weight with all Indians.

The Poor Law.

As regards the *Poor Law* system of England I think that even though it affords relief to about 1/30th of the population of that country from the 16 millions sterling annually levied from poor rates, it falls short of the true ideal of charity. The English labourer or workman knowing that the law has provided for him sustenance, irrespective of his merits, and that there are numbers of benevolent people ready to supplement the sustenance provided for by law, learns to squander his means in drink and other luxuries, and at the first pinch of poverty, seeks the aid of the law as well as encourages his wife and children to seek the aid of the many charitable societies in which the country abounds. He has thus come to look upon such relief as one to which he is legally entitled, with the result that habits of self-denial on his part are usually wanting. On the other hand the Indian agriculturist or workman, having no poor law or charitable associations to support him and knowing the disgrace that attaches to living upon alms, is not only extremely thrifty and self-denying, except on occasions of the marriage of his children, but ordinarily prefers death to a life of beggary. Having no system of poor law relief or organized charity to make himself eligible for, he has no inducement to run as fast in a course of folly and extravagance as the English labourer, and is thus more contented with his lot than the latter. At the same time the relief granted by the English Poor Law system is neither proper nor sufficient. It is not proper in as much as it does not enable the able bodied to make a fresh start in

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life or to break through his work-house associations; and it is not sufficient, as it does not supply his body with ample nourishment or his mind with the required education or training in such a way as to save him from a life of degradation. On the contrary what England requires, is not so much a poor law or so many well endowed societies, as a change in the habits of its working classes in the shape of decrease of drunkenness, of a more assiduous cultivation of religious feeling, and of a truer realization of the fact that a life of excitement is not necessarily a life of happiness whether for the rich or the poor.

In India, though much money is even given away in indiscriminate charity to undeserving objects at places of pilgrimages as well as on various religious and festive occasions, the Hindu's charity has more of heart than of head in it. Not being a servant or representative of any organized body or association, and being brought into contact with the object of his charity, he has not only a better opportunity for exercising more discrimination in its bestowal, but also for the gratification of that feeling of satisfaction of the human heart which springs from relieving misery. At the same time in places of pilgrimage and elsewhere in India, though the number of those who live there solely to eat without working is large, yet there are many others who have given up the world in order to be free to turn their thoughts inwards. Such persons have no other but the barest bodily wants to satisfy, and for them life in a country like England would probably mean life in the workhouse.

The Temperance Movement.

A word now as to *The Temperance Movement* which with its many societies, leagues and associations, is doing a great work for the country. This movement has made 1/7th of the population of the United Kingdom total abstainers, yet even now strong drink is the curse of the country. A Manchester friend presented me with a copy of Canon Wilberforce's Trinity of Evil, as a valued souvènir of my journey from London to Lucerne, and I was glad to find that my own conclusions as to the state of the poor in

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England were supported by so great an authority. The result of this national curse could not be given better than in the words of Canon Wilberforce himself: "They (the workers among the poor of London) could tell you of the dark deeds that are done in the so-called homes of the drunkard; they they could tell you of the cruel blows that fall thick on wife and child; they could tell you of wife and mother lying senseless from some savage assault, all through the long night until dawn peeps in at the window; and the endurance, the forgiveness, the hope for better things in the heart of the poor brave woman constrains her to silence, and the outside world knows nothing of her secret suffering."* And what could be more discreditable to a nation than the fact that about a quarter of a million of its people are yearly convicted for drunkenness, and these include not only men but women also. Truly they say in England drink mocks the legislator, the philanthropist and the patriot. The monster is however rapidly making its ruinous inroads in Indian society which used to be proverbially sober. Here classes and people whose religion or caste prejudices prohibit them from touching liquor, now drink, defying both caste and religion. The number of shops for the sale of both imported and country spirits is largely on the increase in every town of India; and unless speedy measures are taken to prevent the mischief, it will cause as much injury to the Indian as it has done to the English nation.

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* Wilberforce's *Trinity of Evil* p. 119.

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CHAPTER VI.

Books—Some Characteristics of Modern English and Indian Literature—Free Libraries—News-papers—Public Opinion.

Books.

The literary activity of John Bull is remarkable in several respects. Not only is its influence felt in Europe, the United States of America, Australia or the Colonies, but in India also, where it has most powerfully influenced native thought and given it in many respects a new turn. The conditions under which it arises, can not therefore but furnish an interesting subject of study. It is true that great works of genius are not produced, nor do Bacon, Shakespeare or Milton appear in England every day. But it is in the progressive character of its literature, its adapting itself to the times, the way in which modern scientific inventions are pressed into its service, the manner in which *Books* are produced and sold by the million at incredibly low prices, above all in the ability and enterprise that are brought to bear in the publication of its books, newspapers and magazines, that the secret of England's success in this respect lies. Books of the same average good quality are produced each year in its large intellectual centres, like London, Oxford, Cambridge, Edinburgh; and histories, biographies, novels, poems by popular authors multiply every year with extraordinary rapidity; thus showing that though men of genius are as rare in England as everywhere else, the literary activity of the English race is never dull. There the professional man of the pen has to follow and not lead public taste. If he did not take his cue from what shall please his readers, no publisher would undertake to publish his book. Many of these literary hacks turn out at publishers' notice novelettes, history, poems, biography, popular science, by the bushel. These are published in magazines or newspapers and are made accessible to the public at prices which but for the enormous supply of talent in England would soon drive the publisher into the insolvent court. In addition to this the great publishing firms of Macmillan's, Chambers',

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Routledges,' Cassells' and others are in feverish competition with each other, in republishing libraries of standard works and selling them to the public at very low prices. Cassells' National Library is a good instance of what competition can do in bringing the best and most carefully edited books of English literature at the absurdly low price of three or six pence, within the reach of the poorest in England, or for the matter of that, elsewhere also. Every event of note, every question of the day, moreover, calls forth a literature of its own Series of popular books containing biographies of statesmen, *littérateurs*, philosophers, politicians and others also appear from the pen of specialists, while science primers, health primers, literature primers are edited by men who have devoted their whole lives to the study of what they speak upon.

The demand is however as great as the supply. The English public is, to my mind, a great reading public. Not only is it necessary for one to know his trade or profession well, in order to keep up his footing in these days of feverish and warlike competition in England, but that if he wishes to pass off as an educated man in English society, he must also know the current news, be aware of what is passing in the world, be able to pronounce some opinion upon or at least show an intelligent interest in the latest play at the Lyceum, the year's pictures at the Academy and the latest achievements of science and art. Carlyle in one of his essays, complains of there being more babblers than thinkers in England; but even as they are, I think an English gentleman of ordinary education will very likely prove superior to many an Indian gentleman who is thought to be a man of more than ordinary parts. The facilities for knowing so much are also as great as the necessity; for not only are books and newspapers the cheapest things in England, but free libraries are also provided for the people by law.

They have now something like 150 Free Libraries with more than a million and half of books. The Free Libraries Act enables towns, local boards, districts and parishes, to establish libraries to be maintained by a rate not exceeding one penny in

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the £. Yet it was not till lately that the great Metropolitan towns of England took advantage of it. In London some fifteen districts have now adopted the Act. In Edinburgh it was only adopted in 1886; Mr. Carnegie, the author of "Triumphant Democracy," alone offering £50,000 for the purpose: while Dublin, though having its free libraries, has not yet adopted the Act at all. But even now the great towns of England present an unfavourable contrast to Paris which has as many as sixty free libraries with a circulation of a million of volumes for its Municipal limits alone.

In addition to these free libraries for the working classes of England, is the great Library of the British Museum with its 1,450,000 books and 1,00,000 Mss., the Bodleian Library at Oxford of which further on, and the libraries of the various professional, scientific and literary societies, each containing many thousands of volumes. Not the least important is that popular institution in Oxford Street known as Mudie's Circulating Library, the great patron of a large number of books, three volume novels, etc., and the resort of all classes of readers.

With this short explanation there will be no difficulty in realizing the vast influence of English thought over the rest of the world. As regards authors who are most read or whose works exercise influence upon their countrymen, I am not in a position to pronounce any decided opinion. From the way in which books are sold in England, I should however think Shakespeare to be by far the most read of any poet. Tennyson or Browning or Swinburne are for the select few, so are Caryle or Ruskin, but Shakespeare is for all. As Carlyle says: "Indian Empire or no Indian Empire, we cannot do without Shakespeare; the Indian Empire will go at any rate some day; but this Shakespeare does not go; he lasts for ever with us, and we cannot give up our Shakespeare." He is the Universal man, the man for all times and seasons. After Shakespeare come novels, whose readers are, I think, by far more numerous than those of any other books in England. Cervantes' Don Quixote is thought by many to be the best

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novel in the world, for no other novel describes so vividly the struggle of the ideal with the reality of every day life. The great novelists of the first half of this century have, however, now come to rank as classical authors, so do Mill and Macaulay and their readers are thus not among the many but the few, though of course they are more numerous than readers of Ruskin or Carlyle. For my part I think Carlyle to be one of the greatest, the sincerest and the noblest writers of this century, a veritable prophet and a sage whose words, whether they are listened to now or hereafter, shall save modern society from many of its curses. He is the great apostle of reality in thought, word and deed—this hater of shams and humbugs. His "Morrison's pill" for the evils of society is a return to nature, to cease to be hollow sounding shells of dilettantism, to exchange dead hearts of stone for living hearts of flesh, a divorce of all chimeras, luxuries and falsities, a thorough purification of "bloated, swollen, foul existence." But the world goes on regardless of the voice of the sage, though only to find itself more miserable. The Chelsea sage is, however, not the only person who denounces modern society. The great prose-poet Ruskin is equally indignant. According to him, man's business is to know himself and the existing state of things, to be happy in himself and the existing state of things, to mend himself and the existing state of things as far as either are marred and can be mended. But man does not know himsself, nor lives in himself, nor in the existing state of things, nor does he mend them. Wise words these; but who listens to them?

In another place he says: "Gradually, thinking on from point to point, we shall come to perceive that all true happiness and nobleness are near us and yet neglected by us; and that till we have learned how to be happy and noble we have not much to tell, even to Red Indians. The delights of horse-racing and hunting, of assemblies in the night instead of the day, of costly and wearisome music, of costly and burdensome dress, of chagrined contention for place or power, or wealth or the eyes of the multitude; and all the endless occupation without purpose, and idleness without rest, of our vulgar

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world, are not, it seems to me, enjoyments we need be ambitious to communicate. And all real and wholesome enjoyments possible to man have been just as possible to him, since first he was made of the earth, as they are now; and they are possible to him chiefly in peace. To watch the corn grow and the blossoms set; to draw hard breath over ploughshare or spade; to read, to think, to love, to hope, to pray—these are the things that make men happy; they have always had the power of doing these; they never *will* have power to do more. The world's prosperity or adversity depends upon our knowing and teaching these few things; but upon iron, or glass, or electricity, or steam, in no wise." *

I am not sure if the great thinker's words have produced the intended effect upon his countrymen; but that they are very true, is to my mind certain, of England of to-day. Among other modern writers whom I greatly value for their vivid descriptions of their sound advice are Macaulay and Mill, both of whom are well known to our Indians readers. Macaulay's brilliance of style, his love of paradoxes, his earnest defence of the claims of India in Parliament, his Indian Penal Code are too well known to need detailed notice. As I read his speech upon the Government of India delivered in Parliament on 10th July 1833, I pardon him for all the other hard things he said of Indians at one time. He may or may not be a popular author in England in these days of progress, but he bids fair to be read in India for at least some years to come, both for his brilliant style as well as for his advocacy of the claims of its people. The author of "Liberty" and "Representative Government" does not also require any introduction for the Indian reader. Both these essays are largely read in India, and I have always risen a better man from their perusal. Nothing can be truer than his estimate of the causes of the progress of civilization in Europe. Says he: "What has made the European family of nations an improving, instead of a stationary portion of mankind? Not any superior excellence in them, which, when it exists as the effect, not as the cause, but their

* Ruskin's *Modern Painters.*

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remarkable diversity of character and culture. Individuals, classes, nations, have been extremely unlike one another: they have struck out a great variety of paths, each leading to something valuable; and although at every period those who travelled in different paths have been intolerant of one another, and each would have thought it an excellent thing if all the rest could have been compelled to travel his road, their attempts to thwart each other's development have rarely had any permanent success, and each has in time endured to receive the good which the others have offered. Europe is, in my judgment, wholly indebted to this plurality of paths for its progressive and many-sided development." *

Words which I hope will carry due weight with our people in tracing the causes of their own decay and applying the necessary remedies.

Of modern English poets I have also no means of saying how far they influence the thoughts of their countrymen, but from what I know of Swinburne I think his "Songs before Sunrise" ought to be read by all Indian thinkers. Speaking of Pantheism, he says :—

"I am that which began;
Out of me the years roll;
Out of me God and man;
I am equal and whole;
God changes, and man, and the form of them bodily;
I am the soul.

Before ever land was,
Before ever the sea,
Or soft hair of the grass,
Or fair limbs of the tree,
Or the flesh-coloured fruit of my branches, I was,
and thy soul was in me.

First life on my sources
First drifted and swam;
Out of me are the forces
That save it or damn;
Out of me man and woman, and wild beast
and bird; before God was, I am.

* Mill's Essay *Liberty* p. 92.

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Beside or above me
Nought is there to go;
Love or unlove me,
Unknow me or know,
I am that which unloves me and loves; I am stricken, and I am the blow.

I the mark that is missed
And the arrows that miss,
I the mouth that is kissed
And the breath in the kiss,
The search, and the sought, and the seeker, the soul and the body that is.

I am that thing which blesses
My spirit elate;
That which caresses
With hands uncreate;
My limbs unbegotten that measure the length of the measure of fate.

But what thing dost thou now,
Looking God-ward, to cry
'I am I, thou art thou,
I am low, thou art high?'
I am thou, whom thou seekest to find him; find thou but thyself, thou art I."*

Another poet who is rightly as popular in India as I believe he is in England, is Sir Edwin Arnold. His "Light of Asia" and other poems which relate to the East are greatly sought after by all classes of native thinkers in this country. I shall speak of these poems hereafter; and shall here introduce to such of my readers as do not already know him, another greater modern writer, Justin McCarthy whose history of "Our Own Times" is a book which everybody may read with profit, both for the its impartiality of tone as well as for its lively narrative. This book is not a mere invoice list of "pitched battles and changes of ministry" which Carlyle hated in all history, but one which will give a true and correct insight into all that has been done in the present reign.

* Swinburne's *Songs before Sunrise* pp. 82 and 83.

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In a word, without at all attempting to critise modern English literature, I can safely say that so far as Indian readers are concerned, not only Bacon, Shakespeare or Milton but Macaulay, Mill, Carlyle, Swinburne, Edwin Arnold, McCarthy and others are also well worthy of serious study, as showing the current of modern as against that of classical thought in England. Among Orientalists who can be a greater friend of the Indians than Max Müller? And alike in his "What can India teach Us?" in his translation of the Upanishads, his Hibbert Lectures, and his translation of the Rigveda, the Oxford scholar stands prominently as one of the most ardent well-wishers of this country, and ought to be even more widely read and appreciated in it than he is now. I have often had occasion to take exception to his translation of the Upanishads, but my gratitude to him for his splendid editions of the Sacred Books of the East is none the less keen for this difference of opinion. The fact is that so far as our people are concerned, they should cultivate a habit of healthy and serious reading after they have left the College, and not fritter their spare hours away in reading sensational French or other novels.

English and Indian Activities compared.

What a contrast does the above present to the literature of our own country. Here, although learning has never been dull even under the most repressive influences, what one so painfully notices is want of progress—a movement with the times; and but for the great impetus to learning given by the British Government and the introduction of the printing press, Oriental literature would have have had even a darker future before it than its past. So much has been the effect of past régimes upon the progress of civilization in India that learning, which was never intended to be the exclusive property of any caste or class, came to be so, and as a necessary consequence of such monopoly neglected by its possessors, until it was rescued by the labours of modern scholars. The sublime and lofty lessons taught by Hindu philosophy, the teachings of the Hindu Upanishads as furnishing the most correct solution of the great problems of

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existence, the hymns of the Rigveda as furnishing the only clue to the early history of human progress, the great Hindu epics as the most correct exposition of society in ancient India, would all have remained sealed books to the world but for the persistent effort that has been made in unearthing these treasures. This revival of Oriental learning in India has thus a great future before it. What is however, required is guidance in proper channels, such a blending of the present with the past, as to produce a harmonious whole and not as is done by some reactionists, a destruction of the unique character of its past by tracing to it inventions in science and art. It would not, for instance, be proper to trace the steam engine and the electric telegraph to the Rigveda. Even without this straining of effort, the latter shall always hold their own against the sacred literature of the rest of the world. Another noticeable feature of modern literary activity in India is the absence of good and readable books, even of the same average quality as those of modern Europe. Statistics show that between five and six thousand books are published every year in this country and that the great majority of these are written in the Indian vernaculars. But few of these publications reach the standard of even ordinary books upon corresponding subjects published in European countries. The last report of books published in the North Western Provinces of India, shows that in English only school books and catechisms, short pamphlets on sanitary subjects, only one book of science and one of travel, the former comprising 40 and the latter only 28 pages, were published. In Urdu, which is the most widely spoken vernacular of those provinces, two works on biography, two on drama, both of a scrapy character and ten on fiction including reprints of standard works were issued from the press. Two works on history, one on languages, four on law, as many on medicine and miscellaneous books like—"Lamentations of Bekhabar," "Interpretation of Dreams," "Quail-fighting," "Management of Estates," "The Song of the Enamoured," "The Garden of Moses," &c., &c., complete the list. Few of these publications exceed 250 pages. Only two occupy more than 100 pages and the

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rest exhaust their subjects in forty to sixteen, thus showing the inferiority of these books over those on the same subjects in Western countries. Hindi, which is the next widely spoken language of these provinces, however, shows better results. After reprints of standard works, which are most numerous in this list also, some good dramatic works, novels, translations of works like the Ramayana of Valmiki are noticeable. In classical languages like Sanscrit, Arabic and Persian, reprints and annotations on older books also occupy a prominent place. Chief among these are religious books in Sanscrit and Arabic and educational books in Persian. What is however extremely curious, is that while there are few or no original works in the classical or the vernacular languages, a great portion of the very best Indian literary activity of to-day is brought into the service of religion. The great indigenous publishing firms of India following popular taste also turn out religious books in all sorts of styles and fashions. These works are sometimes of an erotic religious character, but they do not as a whole show that natives of India are, from lack of intellectual or moral culture or the descipline of self-government, unworthy of a free Press. Much as I regret the absence of a rightly directed energy in the service of Indian literature, yet considering the number of years which the Press in India has been in existence, I think the work done by it is, on the whole, fair. The republication of classical books, both in Sanscrit and Arabic and their translations or commentaries in the Indian vernaculars, above all reprints of collated editions of rare works in these languages, has given a great impetus to literary activity and has done great good to the people; and I am one of those who think that instead of being injurious the Press is a great agency in their education.

Coming now to books most read in India, the first thing that strikes one is the great number of readers of religious works. Among Hindus the Vedas are only beginning to be studied by the laity; and a great impetus to their study has been given by their translations in modern vernacular languages. They do not however as yet influence the character of the masses of India to the same extent as the great epics.

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The readers of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata or their translations are many more than those of the Vedas or the Upanishads, and they still influence the character of the Hindu nation most largely. The examples of all their chief characters are still cited in Hindu society for others to follow. In the Ramayana the fraternal love of Bharata and Lakshman, the former's abdication of the kingdom given to him by his father in favour of his eldest brother, and the latter's readiness to suffer the hardships of a long exile with Rama, the courage, faithfulness, obedience and filial piety of its chief hero Rama, the sufferings of Sita and her strong attachment to her husband, have all produced a most wholesome influence upon the nation's character. The book commences with asking the question as to "who is virtuous, heroic, true and firm in his vows, of grateful mind, to every creature good and kind, devoid of envy, good to his people and the best of princes in this world," and the answer is that Rama possesses all these attributes. The poet then describes the adventures of the hero, much in the same way as a contemporary historian would, without any attempt to conceal his weaknesses and frailties and without deifying him as has been done by interpolators of his immortal work. The whole book, which it is a pleasure to read, is characterised by an amount of charm which is certainly far above the common place treatment of its subject ascribed to it by foreign critics. The Rama of to-day is, however, not the Rama of Valmiki, but the Rama of later writers. Foremost among these is Tulsidas who lived about 1600 A. D. It is he who has made the heroes of the Ramayana living examples for Indians to follow, and up to this day his teachings are their only code of religion and morality to the masses of about a third of Hindustan. As his English critic Mr. Grierson says, he takes his similes direct from nature. His book is read and appreciated every where, by high and low, rich and poor, in the cottage as well as in the palace. His couplets are in every street-mendicant's mouth. The most ignorant village woman is heard to repeat verses like the following: "Forgiveness is the root of religion, pride is the root of hell. O! Tulsi, do-

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not forsake forgiveness so long as thy soul lives in the body.

"O! Tulsi, there are various descriptions of men in this world ; be friendly to all, for it is merely a temporary meeting like that of a boat on a river.

"O! Tulsi, in this world only five things ought to be sought after : the company of the good, devotion to God, forgiveness, meekness and charity."

The influence of such an author cannot be over-estimated: and, alike for his deep, fervent piety, his great modesty, his implicit conviction of the truth of what he wrote, the melodious flow of his verses, the exquisite sweetness of his poetry, and the sublime moral truths of his songs, the great bard of Rama bids fair to be even more widely appreciated by scholars and savants than he is by the masses.

The other great epic of the Hindus, and perhaps the greatest epic of any nation, has as much influence upon their character and religion as its predecessor. It is not merely an epic ; but a vast encyclopædia of Hindu religion, philosophy, history, cosmogony, myth, tradition, polity, etc. At times its treatment of these subjects is full even to prolixity; but in spite of all its defects it is rightly entitled to be called one of the greatest, if not the greatest book of the world. And yet like the Ramayana it has more readers for its translations than the original. Another book most read in India is the Bhagavata Purana, which—whether in original or through its vernacular translations—guides the every day religious life of the Hindus of a large part of this country. The great feature of this modern religious work is the doctrine of faith. Its great hero Krishna is represented as the creator, preserver and destroyer of the world ; and the flow of its verse and the beauty of its language have great charms for the Indian ear. Its vernacular translator, the blind bard of Brij Surdas, was one of the greatest masters of musical composition in India. His descriptions have exhausted all the beauties of the singer's art ; and his songs are sung by all, from the singer at the Raja's court to the beggar in the streets of an Indian town.

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Among popular works of Sanscrit literature the Bhagavat Gita, that immortal episode of the Mahabharata, however, stands pre-eminent. Its readers count by thousands, though those who understand its real meaning are few. Indians appeal to it as Christians do to the Bible. Its commentaries are innumerable. Pantheists and Monotheists in India both respect it. In 18 chapters, containing about 700 verses, it summarises the teachings of the whole of the best portion of the Hindu religion. Starting with the doctrine of disinterested performance of duty, it leads on to disinterested devotion and faith in God; and concludes with the clearest directions as to how to approach Him. No wonder even foreign critics have assigned it such a high place in the literature of the world. As Schlegel says: "Reverence for teachers is considered by the Brahmans as one of the most sacred duties. Therefore thee above all, O most sacred poet, expounder of the Deity by whatever name thou wast known among men. O author of this poem, by whose utterances the mind is rapt away with an inexpressible delight to all that is lofty, eternal and divine—thee, do I hail and ever adore thy footsteps!".

In secular literature the name of Kalidasa is known in India more for his Raghuvansa and Meghaduta, than for his Sakuntala. The Pandit is heard to say: "Magh and Megh are sufficient for one's life." The Raghuvansa is read by every student of Sanscrit; and young Brahman bridegrooms are made to repeat verses from it in order to make their married life happy. No Brahman teacher will teach the portion where king Aja lost his wife by the fall of a wreath from heaven, lest he or his pupil should become a widower. The Meghaduta of Kalidasa contains descriptions of various parts of India, which for their richness stand unrivalled in the literature of the world. After Kalidasa come the authors of Naishadha and Kiraka, two very difficult Sanscrit poems; and dramatists, like the authors of Mirichakataka and others, are read more by scholars than by ordinary people. The same can not however be said of the royal poet Bharthri-hari, whose work of 300 stanzas

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called the Bharthri-hari Shataka is well known to Sanscrit students. The king's wife proved unfaithful to him, which gave rise to the first stanza of the book. Tradition says, that one day a valuable present was brought to the king, who gave it to his queen who was very dear to him. But she loved another and she gave him the present. He in his turn loved another woman and he gave the present to her. But she, thinking it more suitable for the king, brought it to the king, who knowing it to be the same as he gave to his wife uttered this verse: "She of whom I am constantly thinking is indifferent to me. She loves another, who loves another, this latter is anxious to please me. But shame upon us all; upon her, upon him, upon this woman who has brought the present, upon me and upon love." In another place he says: "The truly great do good to others at risk to themselves; ordinary people benefit others without risk to themselves. Those are demons among men who injure others to benefit themselves; but I do not know what to say of those who profit neither themselves nor others." These are all popular writers in Sanscrit literature.

In Hindi literature religious writers also claim most readers. Nanak, Kalúr, Surdas, Tulsidas, and a few others are all that have any readers among the people. Nanak's sayings have passed into proverbs, which are on the lips of every body: "O Nanak all the world is misery! It is the name of the Almighty which is happy." Kabir's sayings are also in every body's mouth: "People become stones by too much reading: none becomes a Pandit. He who reads the two and half letters of love becomes a Pandit. The wise shall all sink. The unlearned shall float over. Kabir, remove all your doubts. Books destroy the body."

Mr. Grierson of Bengal has done a great public service to all students of Hindi by his admirable history of Hindi literature, published in the journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. His appreciation of Tulsidas and Surdas is not only correct, but worthy of the enthusiasm of a Hindu. His remarks upon reformers like Nanak and Kabir, might have been fuller; while it would certainly add to the value of his

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book, if in some future editions he gives not only critical notices of, but also extracts from, the works of Hindi writers. As it is, his book puts indigenous scholars to shame; and as in many other things, it was reserved for a European to explore this region. As regards Persian literature, poetry and philosophy their readers and appreciaters are also very large among both Mahommadans and Hindus of upper India. The works of poets like Sadi, Hafiz, Maulana Rum and writers like Abulfazl and others are all very popular. Sadi and Hafiz are both remarkable for their lively imagery as well as for their insight into human nature. For pregnant truths of the highest value conveyed under many an apparently coarse garb of allegory, as well as for his intellectual freedom, Hafiz stands pre-eminent. Sadi's verses have passed into proverbs. Other Persian authors are read for their lofty style, but Sadi is essentially the people's poet.

In vernacular or Urdu literature the tendency of its poems or tales is far less healthy than that of Persian literature. Speaking of it Altaf Husain Hale, a living poet says: "Our poetry is full of stench, one that has made the earth and the heavens quake beneath its absurdities and exaggerations. It has been the ruin of our religion. All other sinners shall be let off on the Day of Judgment, our poets shall alone be sufficient to fill all hell. Our labourers in the streets can earn their livelihood, our singers are pets of our nobility, our street drummers can even eke out a subsistence by begging; but God only knows what the victims of this malady of writing poetry are fit for. If water-carriers were to strike work, we shall all be dead; if washermen were to disappear from the world every thing shall be dirty; a strike of labourers means misery to all, and one of sweepers' great public inconvience. But if all our poets were to strike work we shall all feel greatly relieved."

His estimate of modern Persian and Urdu literature, philosophy and medicine is also very low. "Our medicine," says he, "is a delusion. We disregard all demonstrated truth from the superstition that nothing which the old Greeks said could ever be wrong. Ignorant of all applied

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sciences only God takes care of our physicians' patients. In our philosophy so wedded are we to Aristotle that not even the voice of God can make us believe the contrary. Our literature only qualifies its readers to utter a few shibboleths, but serves no practical purpose. It never enables them to find employment for their talents except in wrangling. Our learned are unfit for employment under Government. They cannot open their mouths in Darbars; they are unfit to tend a flock of sheep in the jungle or carry a load."

The writer's zeal for his nation has probably got the better of his discretion; but many of his descriptions are fairly true of modern secular Oriental literature. Here what one misses is a movement with the times. A slavish adherence to the past is its great feature. Its past has been a very bright and glorious past; but does it involve that there should be no progress? In Europe progress is rapid enough to make one's brain go whirling. What there is new to-day, will be old fashioned to-morrow, and discarded the day after. The East ought not also to be stationary but move on Europe's lines of progress, whether it be in its literature, its arts of life or its sciences.

Newspapers.

Greater in importance than books is the *Newspaper* which in England is something to every body, and everything to some people. From the cabby in the streets to the Queen in her palace, every body reads it; and the literary activity and interprise shown in this respect are even greater than in the matter of books. In European countries the newspaper is as necessary as, and much cheaper than, one's breakfast; and the way in which piles of papers that news-boys bring under their arms and hawk about every morning and evening in the streets of London are sold off in an incredibly short time, is wonderful. The reason for this great popularity of the newspaper is, that every body, the highest and the lowest, professes to sit in judgment over, and takes interest in, public affairs. Every body is free to publish his thoughts. From the prince to the peasant no one is free from public criticism; and every body thinks the only way to fame is a three-line puff in a newspaper.

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The Times.

I shall begin with the *Times*, that representative of John Bull. Let us now enter its office in Printing House Square. A friend has sent me a card of admission, and a member of the staff has kindly undertaken to show me round. Their composing machines, worked like type-writers, do the work of four hands. Any thing going on in Parliament is telephoned to the compositor. The page is then printed, and the copy corrected, and the corrected impression, which is on a card board, is taken to the stereotyping room, where boiling metal is poured over it, and the machine set in motion, giving you an exact negative of the copy in lead in the shape of a half cylinder. This cylinder is now smoothed, and eight of them forming eight pages of the paper are then screwed down to the press, which prints from a roll of paper 4½ miles long, and cuts, folds, and counts 6,500 impressions in half an hour. Their arrangement for publishing the weather chart by the process of electrotyping is even more wonderful. And I was told that the *Times* had its own telegraph wire from Paris, made its own presses, and was independent of everything in the world, except paper and ink. Yet it has not as much circulation as the penny dailies. I tried to enquire the reason and was told that with all its command of talent and resources, like a weather-cock it goes with the wind, and people even charge it with garbling reports to suit its opinions. But though they may abuse it and call it "the pedantic, nagging old journal," it is a power in the land and makes its influence felt all over the European world, the Colonies, the United States of America, India, almost every where. Both in official and political circles all over the civilized world people fear it and ask the question, "What will the *Times* say?" When it speaks, it speaks in a tone of authority, full of confidence marked by all the courage and determination and arrogance of his race. It never sides with the party or the person out of power. It goes, as they told me in its office *with the times*, one of the great characteristics of Englishmen. In Indian matters its tone is, however, not always *with the times*. It is

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no more on the side of Indian reformers than it would be on the side of any other liberal movement at its commencement in Europe. If, however, the latter succeeds, the *Times* espouses its cause. It is thus not a friend in adversity but in prosperity. First win your own cause and then you win the *Times*.

After the *Times* come the other great *Dailies of London*, whose resources are as large as those of the great oracle of Printing House Square, but which want the latter's arrogance or authority. The *Daily Telegraph*, which has a circulation of about half a million, is the organ of the Independent Liberals. It stands pre-eminent for its news as well as for its discussion of social questions. The *Daily News*, the organ of the Gladstonian party, won its present position by its enterprize during the Franco-Prussian war. Its tone towards India is very judicious and impartial, and whenever it treats of Indian matters, it has always something interesting to say. The *Morning Post* is the organ of the fashionable world, and gives every thing that is passing in the upper circles with prompt exactness. The *Daily Chronicle*, which is an Independent Liberal organ, devotes itself largely to Colonial affairs.

Other London Dailies.

After these principal daily papers of London come the provincial papers of Leeds, Manchester, Birmingham and other places. But they all want either the ability or the enterprize of the great London dailies. The circulation of these English papers is however far less than that of the "Petit" journal of Paris, which, the posters announced was about a million of copies daily. This paper is the most popular paper in France; for every one, from the member of the French Cabinet to the labourer in the streets, or the husbandman at his plough, reads it.

After the dailies come the *Weeklies* with their more matured opinions and criticisms. *Truth*, with its outspoken views, is often true to its name. It is always piquant and saucy and readable. *Lloyd's News* and *Reynold's Paper* are for the working classes. The latter's outspokenness often borders upon

English Weeklies.

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indiscretion. The *Saturday Review*, with its conservative views, is like the *Times* very ably written, but it is not friendly to Indian reformers. The *Pall Mall's* great characteristics are its three "I s," *viz*:—*I*ndependence, *I*llustration and *I*nterviewing. The first has often brought the paper into trouble; and it has always been most marked even under adverse circumstances. The second was fully illustrated in my own case, because of the many interesting questions put to me as well as of the extremely intelligent interest shown in Indian affairs by its late editor Mr. Stead. The third is fully borne out by the many suggestive political cartoons that frequently appear in the paper.

Interview with a London Editor.

One of the proprietors of the *Pall Mall Gazette* having paid me a visit in London I went to his office to return his call. But instead of meeting him I had the pleasure of an interesting *Interview with Mr. Stead*, a man whom I was glad to know because of his great abilities as well as his sympathies for the poor. My first impressions of Mr. Stead were very favourable. This slenderly built, overworked, extremely intelligent and benevolent-looking Londoner is said to represent a class which is the great iconoclast of humbugs, shams, and euphemisms, a lover of the sensational and the romantic, the idol of the poor and the oppressed. He is a person whose face one could not easily forget. We talked upon quite a number of important subjects and I was much pleased to find him so much interested in our country. One of his questions to me was: "Would you like to have Home-rule? "Yes," I replied, "in the same sense as the Colonies have." At the time I saw him he was discussing the question of having counsel for the poor in criminal cases at public expense; and to my mind the suggestion is worthy of the consideration of the Government both here as well as in England. Our conversation turned upon a number of topics, in which I have always taken a deep interest. I left Mr. Stead strongly impressed with his generous sympathies as well as with the breadth and catholicity of his views; and felt at the time that Canon Wilberforce's remark, that to mention his name in

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any large assembly of working men is to kindle an enthusiasm bursting out into cheer after cheer, was not unjustified from what the man is said to have suffered for the sake of truth and justice.

Sir Edwin Arnold.

In addition to Mr. Stead I had the pleasure of knowing one or two other literary men and editors whose names are well known in English literature. Of *Sir Edwin Arnold,* the author of the "Light of Asia," I had read and heard much; and I was greatly pleased at meeting him at Lord Hobhouse's house. Sir Edwin Arnold was dressed somewhat differently from the rest of his countrymen, and wore a number of foreign Orders of the most curious description. He spoke to me of the deep interest he had always felt in the literature and philosophy of the East; and seemed pleased at my telling him how highly his sympathies for that literature were valued in the land of its birth. Not only is the "Light of Asia" a most remarkable poem of modern times for the exquisite sweetness and music of its verses; but to a Hindu, specially valuable in having pointed out to the European world the true meaning of *Nirwana* the ultimate aim of his philosophy, *viz.*, not a blank nothingness, as has been supposed, but a complete extinction of the individual self into the highest self. As the "Light of Asia" says:—

"Foregoing self the universe grows 'I,'
If any teach *Nirwana* is to cease, say unto such, they lie."

The other works of Sir Edwin Arnold, though very good in themselves, seem to fall short of the "Light of Asia" in point of excellence. His translation of the Bhagavadgita is thought by many not to approach the original in beauty, nor his "Secret of Death" its original, the Katha Upnishada, in sublimity. The same is thought to be the case with his "Light of the World." Yet I am sure some of these works, at least the "Light of Asia," shall always rank among English classics.

Mrs. Annie Besant.

Of *Annie Besant,* the famous Preacher, Socialist, Atheist, Radical, Theosophist, with her powerful speaking and doctrines with which every one cannot agree, it is only necessary to say

that she is a power in England, a force to be reckoned with. Her opinions upon brain development appeared to be, that one-sided developed brains had more to do with habitual criminality than sheer wickedness; and according to her, society does not gain by repeated imprisonment of such persons, nor does the latter prevent their propogating the breed of criminals. On the contrary, it would be a more effectual remedy to shut such people up like lunatics. A view which deserves more than a passing consideration. But the other view of the Socialist, that there should be equal enjoyment of the comforts, luxuries and necessaries of existence, is either too impracticable for this matter-of-fact world with its law of the survival of the fittest, or is one that shall never command universal acceptance.

Other English Newspapers.

Of the *Other English Papers* like the *St. James's Gazette*, the *Standard*, the *Echo*, the *World*, *London Society*, *Modern Society*, *Tit Bits*, *Punch*, etc., which I used occasionally to dip into, with the exception of *Punch* and the *World*, they did not strike me particularly for their ability or depth of public criticism. Some of them, like the *St. James's Gazette*, discuss political subjects with great party feeling. Others are merely written to beguile a weary hour. But none possess the characteristics of the great London papers I have described above.

The Reviews.

After the newspapers come the great *Reviews*, like the *Nineteenth Century*, the *Fortnightly*, the *Contemporary*, the *Westminster* and others, some of which rank among their contributors the most celebrated politicians, *litterateurs* and scientists of the day, and thus possess enormous influence, both in political as well as in literary circles, in forming people's opinions upon important questions. Their articles, though most ably written, are, however, sometimes too lengthy for the occasion or the subject; and a foreigner has to make great mental effort in putting himself into the place of persons whom the questions discussed touch more vitally, in order to realise the value of these contributions. This is, however, not the case

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with the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, which, as its name implies, treats mostly of Indian questions, but often from the point of view of the Indian officials.

General Characteristics of the English Press.

The great *Characteristic of the English Press*, and one that surprises a foreigner, is, however, the rapidity with which everything is reported, and the prompt treatment which every matter of importance receives at the hands of the critics. There is here a feverish competition for journalistic success; and if spending colossal sums, or correspondents rushing into the mouth of the cannon, or going down a mine, would not secure public patronage, they might even give away the paper for nothing and live upon advertisements alone. Outside party politics the tone of the English Press is never unfair, nor do people get abused. But when party politics are concerned its tone is much on a par with that of a lawyer pleading a cause in a court of justice. Then it is that in order to influence votes at parliamentary elections, or to drive the opposite party out of office, or to prevent its coming in, it and its leaders are spared no abuse, so much so that instead of being an exponent of public opinion the newspaper decomes a great and powerful engine of crushing and abusing your opponents. And yet one would feel inclined to admire in general the dignity of the English Press, the trustworthiness of its news, its freedom from suspicion of corruption, though not the ability or the maturity of thought of its daily leaders, even though they are written for the *Times*. The fact is that it looks a rather difficult task for an editor to throw off every day at a moment's notice something good and palatable upon matters which require more than off-hand treatment. On the contrary, whether it be in India or in England, I should prefer to have my daily paper giving me trustworthy news only, leaving me to digest and form my own conclusions.

Connected with, and as a result of the influence of newspapers in England, is the patronage given to Curtis's Press Cutting Agency, which, for a trifle gives you every morning what is said of you not only in English but also in all foreign

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papers. The agency is employed by almost all the public men of England, as it saves them the trouble of reading so many papers.

The reason why the Press is so powerful in England is that the latter is essentially a country governed by public opinion. It is this public opinion, that master of kings and ministers and parliaments, that keeps things going amidst the turmoil of contending political parties. Nothing is screened from public criticism; and public opinion to an Englishman is more powerful than an enemy. Every body from prince to peasant bows to it; and the way in which it makes its influence felt in an incredibly short time is wonderful. This was illustrated in the case of one Miss Case, whom a policeman had arrested for soliciting in the public streets, but whom the Magistrate had discharged with a warning. The woman immediately complained to the Home Secretary and appealed to public opinicn. By the evening almost all the London papers were full of her wrongs. The rights and liberties of the women of England were in danger; and the case gave rise to an amount of agitation which showed how jealous John Bull was of his smallest legal rights! Here was a woman who was acquitted, with a warning by an incautious Magistrate, cf a charge that had been brought against her, a thing which is not uncommon in Indian courts, and yet this woman immediately became the heroine of the hour. The newspapers were full of her case; her portraits were sold in every shop window. She was the talk of every home. The street boys sold their newspapers shouting what she had done in Court. Her case was discussed in the House of Commons, where it had nearly shaken the Government of the day, all showing not only the power and influence but also the misdirection which popular voice is likely to take in a country like England.

Indian Newspapers.

In *India the Newspaper* essentially owes its existence to the English Government; and a free Press in a despotically governed country, is one of the many anomalies which that Government presents. The progress of society has, however,

apparently divided the organs of public opinion into the supporters of the present methods of Government and those who are pressing for reforms in it. The result is that all those weapons of attack and defence that are used by political papers in England are beginning to be employed in India. One class sees nothing good or just in the claims or the actions of the other, and imputes to it motives that are ill-calculated to promote harmony of feeling. The former goes into hysterics at the writings of the latter, saying, with all the force of language it can command, that the efficiency of the administration will be seriously impaired if the latter's claims were allowed. Many Anglo-Indian papers will not see anything good in the freedom of discussion indulged in by the vernacular of the Indian Press, and will even attribute sedition where there is none. The latter will also overstep the bounds of legitimate criticism; and give its opponents occasion for asking the Government to curtail its freedom of expression. The tone of some of the organs of both is often injudicious and unjust, which, even the tone of the party papers in England does not justify. For instance, if *Truth* calls the Tory mode of transacting business: "imbecility reduced to a system," or the *Times* Mr. Gladstone's alliance with the Parnellites: "the most disgraceful spectacle that can be found in political history,—an alliance, whose authentic doctrine is the doctrine of treason and assasination," it is because both it and its readers know the value of such writings and that they are made in the heat of political controversy.

The Indian Press, which is very differently situated, has no excuse for indulging in the same style of writing. Its freedom is after all a gift of the British Government; and it would be wise if it valued and used the gift with discretion. It is more free than the Press in Germany, where an editor has to think twice before publishing what shall be distasteful to the Government of the day. It is also freer than the Press of even democratic France, whose freedom is almost equal to the freedom of the British Press. While therefore it ought to criticise the acts of both the Government and its critics, it will be to the interest of all were the tone of some of its

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organs less violent, less injudicious, less apt to ascribe motives where no motives ought to be ascribed and more confined to honest statement of facts. It injures its own cause by overstating its case. Conviction can only be gained by impartial statement. "Truth," says Mr. John Morley, "is quiet; moderation and judgment are more than the flash and the glitter of even the greatest genius. Let our Indian writers learn the golden art—the steadfast use of a language in which truth can be told, a speech that is strong by natural force and not merely effective by declamation." This applies more or less to all sections of the Indian Press. On the other hand, so far as its native portion is concerned, its tone cannot be too moderate or too thoughtful. It ought to be less blatant and less turgid than it generally is. If it would only indulge in less vituperative writing, its influence, both with its own readers as well as with the Government, will at once vastly increase. So far as the former are concerned it is not confined to the English-reading few; but has vastly increased with the increase of the number of those who have to think of something more than their daily bread; and, with people like these who have yet to have opinions of their own, the native Press is a potent factor for good or for evil, according as it takes sound or unsound views of public affairs. Even amongst the English-reading natives, the number of independent thinkers is very small; and to many the opinions of their paper are but the only means of forming their own opinions. One would, therefore, wish that it realised its great responsibilities and not only its editors but its correspondents, contributors, and reporters also, the vast influence they possess in shaping the future of their country. By this means alone can it be the channel through which, according to Lord Dufferin, that independent native public opinion expresses the wants and wishes of the community at large, "and thus prove one of the most powerful assistants the Government can possess in the proper conduct of public affairs," and not merely a safety-valve for native discontent, as Lord Cross thinks it to be.

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CHAPTER VII.

Law—The Law Courts-The Justice of the Peace and The Police.

The Law Courts.

One of my first cares in London was to visit the *Law Courts* in the Strand; and a friend had the kindness to show me round the great Temple of Justice as well as introduce me to some of its presiding geniuses. English law has never been remarkable for its order or clearness; and before the New Judicature Acts of 1873 and 1875, the English Courts were also not much superior to English law in point of defined jurisdiction. They have, however, now a single "omni-competent" Supreme Court of Judicature instead of the former Courts of the Queen's Bench, the Common Pleas, the Exchequer, the Chancery, the Admiralty, the Probate and the Divorce Courts. The present Supreme Court consists of two distinct and separate Divisions—the High Court of Justice and the High Court of Appeal. The former is further divided into—(1) the Queen's Bench Division, consisting of the Lord Chief Justice and fourteen other Puisne Judges having almost sole jurisdiction in criminal cases; (2) the Chancery Division, consisting of the Lord Chancellor and five Puisne Judges for the trial of cases relating to the administration of estates of deceased persons, dissolution of partnerships, mortgages and charges upon land, trusts, specific performance of contracts, partition of real estates, infants and their estates, thus combining in one the jurisdiction vested in the Courts of the District and the Subordinate Judges in India; and (3) the Probate, Divorce and Admiralty Division, consisting of only two judges and trying cases that fall specially within its jurisdiction. The other Division of the Supreme Court, the Court of Appeal, is presided over by the Lord Chancellor, and is composed of the Lord Chief Justice, the President of the Probate Division, the Master of the Rolls as *ex officio* members and five Lords-justice. The general principle of the present system is, that though an action may be brought in any of the Divisions of the High Court, yet for practical

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purposes a suitor's choice is limited by the kind of work generally done by a Division of the Court. If, however, he goes to a wrong division his mistake can be rectified without much trouble.

All these Courts are located in a building in the Strand, which, with all the intellectual light of its occupants, has certainly little or no physical light. Its large hall, which is some 250 feet long, 80 feet high and 40 feet broad, would at once give one rheumatism. This reformed system of courts is, moreover, even now not so convenient to the suitors as the Indian system, with its local Courts possessing well-defined original jurisdiction, for the disposal of cases which would otherwise involve the trouble and expense of a trial by the High Court. And but for the smallness of the country and the facility of travelling that now exists in England, the present English system of the Law Courts would have no great recommendation for having made justice more easily accessible than before.

English Judges.

The *Judges* of the High Court are all eminent lawyers; and none but a barrister of at least ten years' standing is appointed to it, nor any but one of fifteen years' standing to the Court of Appeal. The Lord Chancellor, who is the highest Officer of the Crown and the "Keeper of the King's conscience," is a member of the Cabinet, a Privy Councilor, the President of the House of Lords, of the Court of Appeal, of the High Court of Justice, of the Chancery Division of the High Court, and has the direct power or at least a voice in the appointment of all judges excepting the Lord Chief Justice. His tenure of office depends upon the Queen's pleasure, *i.e.*, upon the vote of the House of Commons regarding the career of the Ministry of the day. His salary is £10,000 a year, which, considering his immense powers and responsibilities, is not too much, being about the same as that of an Indian Provincial Governor with far less prestige outside his own province. The Lord Chief Justice receives £8,000 per annum, while the salary of the other judges is about £6,000 respectively. In former times judgeships in England used to be given to political partizan

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of the Ministry. This, however, is not now said to be the case in England; though barrister judgeships in the Indian and Colonial High Courts are still reserved for those who have done service to their political party—a practice which does not always afford a premium to merit.

The County Courts.

After the High Court come the *County Courts*, which, in their present form date from 1846. The whole country is divided into a number of districts, each corresponding with a Poor Law Union in England and with the jurisdiction of a Munsif in India. There are some 500 of such Courts in England, one Court generally being held in each district. The Judge of the Court is a barrister of seven years' standing. His salary is between £1,200 and £1,500 per annum, which is higher than the £800 or £900 usually allowed to a Judge of the corresponding Court in India. Sir John Strachey's comparison of the salaries of Indian judges with those of judges in France is, therefore, not so appropriate as would have been a comparison with those of the judges of his own country.

These Courts have almost the same powers as the Small Cause Courts have in India, *viz.*, that of trying money suits up to £50, with however this difference, that by the consent of the parties they could try any action which could have been brought in the Queen's Bench Division of the High Court. They could also try certain actions which could be brought in the Chancery or the Admiralty Division of that Court. The procedure of these Courts is much the same as that of our own Small Cause Courts, except that in actions above £5, the parties as a matter of right, and below that sum, with the sanction of the judge, could summon a jury of five out of the list of jurors. On matters of law an appeal rests with the High Court in actions above £20, or if the Judge gives leave. I visited one of these Courts in Birmingham presided over by Mr. Judge Chalmers, formerly of the Indian Civil Service. The learned Judge lives at Leamington whence he goes to Birmingham every morning. I watched the trial of several suits in his Court; and was greatly impressed with not only the order and decorum that prevailed in it, but also

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with the clockwork-like exactness of everything there. The work was done with as much despatch as was consistent with the administration of substantial justice; and considering the large amount of business that the Court has to go through during the year, the way in which it was done was admirable.

On the other hand the *Procedure of the High Court*, which also I watched in the trial of more than one action, was characterised by an amount of prolixity and wrangling quite disproportioned to the merits of the case. They were once trying an action by a landlord for the ejectment of a tenant for cutting trees in his holding. The issue was simple enough to have been disposed of in a couple of hours in an Indian Court. Yet they took nearly as many days for the examination of the witnesses alone. The lawyers had all their own way; and the incongruity of their questions, the way in which objections were taken by the other side, the number of books opened and referred to on each disputed point of law of the smallest value, and the way in which the judge had to decide such points, all showed as if a Nasmyth hammer was being employed to crack a nut.

The Procedure of the High Court.

The great feature of the present system of Civil justice in England, however, is the choice of jurisdiction it gives to the litigant in bringing an action triable by a County Court in the High Court though at the risk of losing his costs altogether or getting only so much as a County Court would award, or having his action transferred from the High to the County Court. This procedure is however not superior to the Indian system of Courts possessing exclusive jurisdiction; for even in a progressive country like England it is unsafe to let the litigant get lost into the mazes of a trial in the High Court instead of confining him to a County Court with well defined and exclusive powers. Another thing that struck me was the infrequency of trial by jury in civil causes though the law allows it. In the High Court, except in its Chancery Division, the parties have generally the right of having a trial by jury in civil cases. But the general opinion is that this mode of trial is itself on its trial. In the County Courts

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out of about a million of actions disposed of in one year, only one thousand are tried by jury.

Appeals.

As regards the system of *Appeals* I have already said that an appeal lies to the High Court from a decision of the County Court in actions above £20, or if the judge gives leave, in other actions also. The High Court's judgment is in its turn appealable to the Court of Appeal and the latter's to the House of Lords, a system which largely detracts from the usefulness of the County Courts. In cases tried by the High Court itself, the defeated litigant has also two appellate tribunals to resort to. He has thus the same undesirable latitude of dragging his opponent from court to court to the great ruin of both, as he has in India. Such latitude may sometimes be necessary for securing an authoritative decision upon any disputed point of law, but generally it is not worth the trouble and expense incurred in having it. The fusion of law and equity, which is also one of the results of the present law reform in England, is however more than a mere verbal reform, for it has resulted in making one court give the litigant what would formerly have been obtained by a proceeding in two. This change saves him from the absurdity of suing his neighbour, for instance, for an injunction commanding him to pull down a wall he had built so as to darken his windows, in one court and for damages for the wrong done in another.

Compared with the Law and Procedure of Indian Courts.

This rough outline of the present system of Civil justice in England will show how different it is from the system introduced by the British Government in India—a system which, in spite of its short comings, is superior in many respects to the English system. English law, which has never been codified and has even now to be extracted from a mass of conflicting decisions and dicta of judges, is a mysterious and bewildering maze for the litigant often to get hopelessly involved into, and all attempts at reforming it have been mostly unsuccessful in Parliament. This is because in England party politics are too fascinating to allow English legislators to attend to their proper work. England has yet to have a

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complete Criminal law or a law of Contracts or Evidence, and not all the "Every Man's Lawyers" can save a lay-man from lawyers' fees or advance him beyond picking up a few bits of their jargon. The case in India is not the same; for here, in spite of its defects the codification of Indian law has not only been of incalculable advantage to the people but has also saved the Courts from being the victims of much useless wrangling.

As regards the quality or the quantity of litigation in the two countries, speaking generally I think that while money litigation in English County Courts is about the same both in quantity as well as in quality as in the corresponding Courts in India, there is more litigation for large properties in the latter than in England. This is due partly to the too common state of indebtedness of Indian land-holders and partly to other causes. In former times, when local public opinion was respected in India, people did not come to the Courts except as a last resource. But now-a-days increase of civilization, the fact of the Courts being more easily accessible and the isolation in which people live from each other, have made them lose all respect for local opinion. Periodical revisions of Government revenue also give rise to much litigation. The operations are too vast to be made with all the care and accuracy requisite for entries made in the settlement papers, and the result is that while one party is anxious for their correction, the other is no less anxious to let the mistake from which he profits, to continue. Professional litigants and lawyers purchase doubtful interests in land, and bring suits in the way of gambling. In all transfers of land, when the transfer is not approved of by co-sharers of the transferor, or when the vendee is a powerful man, whose advent into the village proprietary body is an object of fear, pre-emption suits are very common. Conflict of interest between persons holding mortgages of the same property, fictitious sales by Mahommedan husbands to their wives in lieu of dower and impeachment of their fathers' transactions by Hindu sons also give rise to a large number of suits. None of these features except the first is seen in England,

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which accounts for the fewness of suits for properties of large value in that country.

In both countries, however the procedure of the Courts is costly and unnecessarily formal for the disposal of petty cases, and instead of justice being cheap and speedy, it is prohibitively dear and dilatory. The causes of this complaint in India lie principally in the ever-increasing mass of laws made by the Legislature as well as in the conflicting rulings of the various High Courts. Here, although the codification of Indian law has been a decidedly progressive step, which even England might copy with advantage, Indian codes are too elaborate and technical for the disposal of many small suits that form such an important feature of every day litigation in India.

It has been urged by many that a reversion to the Panchayat system of old shall put an end to the misery of Indian litigants. No doubt there is, at first sight, something charming in the idea of justice being brought to every one's door in a speedy way, but it is a question if the object of such benevolent concern would himself care for an institution, which has greatly lost its hold—even upon those of the lower classes of the community, among whom it has hitherto prevailed with so much force in the settlement of caste disputes. As the Indian law stands, there is nothing to prevent a case from going into arbitration before or after its coming to the Court, and among merchants and traders, Panchayat is still resorted to for settlement of disputes. But in the present state of native society it is impossible to entrust Panchayats with exclusive jurisdiction over all or any particular class of cases. As Sir Fitzjames Stephen says: "If they are to be guided by no law whatever, in the present state of native society, their awards, instead of being the perfection of justice that is claimed for them, would not fail to excite widespread discontent, especially because the ordinary villager or townsman is not always above corruption and is likely to be open to every sort of indirect influence, and if its decision is to be enforced, a sense of injustice will be produced, which will not be less keen because the British Government makes

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itself the instrument of an unjust tribunal, instead of pronouncing an unjust decision. If the decision is not enforced, it is worthless; disputes go undecided, and after a certain time we come to violence and bloodshed, like those which have been and to a certain extent still are, so common in the wilder part of the country."

On the contrary a better remedy would seem to be in the curtailment of the present latitude of appeal, enactment of usuary laws and appointment of a standing law commission, whose duty it would be to collate the various interpretations put upon the existing laws by the various High Courts, and declare what should be the law in future. This would be a source of great relief to all who have to do with the Courts, as well as prevent much harassing litigation. Sir Fitzjames Stephen had also some such thing in mind when, in his Minute on the Administration of Justice in India, after referring to the enormous mischief caused by indiscriminate law reporting, he said: "The result of this is that decisions upon unwritten law are frequently narrow, partial, hesitating and indefinite, nor do they become complete until litigation completes them." And, "when we recollect how many days are wasted in wrangling over questions which a stroke of the pen might have decided beforehand, some idea may be formed of the present maimed, imperfect and complicated system of judicial legislation. The judge's pay is, however, by no means the only money thus wasted; we must bear in mind the expense to the parties, the labour of subordinate officers, the expense of needless reports and other books, and encouragement given to idle and fraudulent litigation before we have made any approach at all to the bottom of the mischief." And he proposed that the Government should be authorized and required to publish half yearly statements of such of the points of law decided by the Judges of the High Court, as they thought right. No such statement should be published unless it was signed by a certain number at least of the High Court Judges. The number should be so arranged that more than one High Court should be represented, and that, say, three judges should warrant

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each statement. Government should, moreover, be empowered to ask the judges questions suggested but not decided by actual cases, and the judges required to state the law in answer to such questions. Such statements of the law should have the same authority as a full bench ruling of a High Court.

As regards appeals the present law may have done for a state of society when judges were not what they are now. But when the tone of all classes of judges has admittedly been raised the interests of the country would seem to require a revision of the present procedure. The institution has been much abused; and it is not surprising if every litigant who loses a case, however weak, appeals often to his own detriment. And it is to his own interest that his latitude of appeal should be curtailed.

Both these reforms are however subordinate to the enactment of usury laws. Freedom of contract, though it may do for European countries, is not suited for India; and the British Government cannot do better than follow its own native States in discouraging speculations in money-lending by making its courts refuse to award interest exceeding the principal. The argument brought forward by the advocates of the mischievousness of State interference in this respect cannot be more forcibly put than in the words of Mill. Says that great authority: * "A person of sane mind, and of the age at which persons are legally competent to conduct their own concerns, must be presumed to be a sufficient guardian of his pecuniary interests. If he may sell an estate, or grant a release, or assign away all his property, without control from the law, it seems very unnecessary that the only bargain which he cannot make without its intermeddling, should be a loan of money. The law seems to presume that the money-lender, dealing with necessitous persons, can take advantage of their necessities, and exact conditions limited only by his own pleasure. It might be so if there were only one money-lender within reach." In India it is however often the case

* Mill's *Political Economy* Vol. II. p. 545.

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that there is only one money-lender within the borrower's reach, and unlike other countries the whole monied capital of the community is not available to the village agriculturist. It may not be so because of the security he offers being not good or sufficient for the money. But along with the idea that it would be a mistaken kindness of the law to protect the prodigal or the imprudent against the consequences of his own act, ought to be taken into consideration the further fact that in Asiatic countries the customs of the people and their laws have never made the business of the money-lender so profitable as it is now. People here never had unlimited freedom of transfer of land, nor were contracts relating to such transfers rigidly enforced. In many of the native States of India the professional money-lender does not flourish with the same vigour as he does in British India because the former recognize no transferable rights in land. In England also its laws do not give its landed aristocracy an unlimited and absolute power of transfer. If therefore Indian landlords are allowed such a power, it is but just to see that such power is not abused, and that the class to conciliate which it was granted is not reduced to a worse condition with it than it was without it.

The Criminal Law of England.

Coming now to the *English Criminal Law*, the first thing that strikes one is the strange contrast it presents to modern English Society. For instance, if you steal a dog you escape with only six months, but if you steal the dog's collar you are doomed for life. This is surely something more than justice and good sense put into writing, which is the English definition of law. The law as to murder is declared by a Parliamentary Committee to be most "evasive and sophistical." Said a judge to a woman in sentencing her to death for infanticide; "The killing of your child is undoubtedly murder, but so far as it lies in my power, the sentence shall not be carried out." A villain, who throws his child upon a large fire, or knocks it against a wall, gets one month, whilst for receiving 2s. 6d. worth of stolen property he gets penal servitude for 14 years. People

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here would be found undergoing sentences of short imprisonment for the two hundredth time. Hanging was till lately a very common punishment for offences like pocket-picking above 1s.; soldiers and sailors begging; poking a stick through a glass pane. Thus the proverb: "Hang me and I will see you hanged first" only reflects the law on the subject. In times gone by, when convictions for felony involved forfeiture of the felon's goods judges and prosecuting counsel were over anxious for convictions, and juries often refused to convict people because of the absurd severity of the law, and the Crown now and then stifled private prosecutions with false charges. It was also the practice of judges to dissuade prisoners from pleading guilty when disposed to do so, and it required all the force of Bentham's argument to put a stop to the system. There is no equality in practice, though it may be so in theory, in the eye of the English law. A gentleman's word counts for much in saving a criminal; and I read of a fisherman, guilty of fishing against rules, having been let off on the word of a gentleman who wanted some fish.

English Criminal Courts.

The constitution of the *English Criminal Courts* is also different from those in India; and all trials, except when a peer claims to be tried by his peers, or the House of Lords is trying a person impeached by the House of Commons, take place before the Queen's Bench Division of the High Court, a Court constituted by Commission of the Assizes, or the Central Criminal Court, or at the Quarter Sessions. The Queen's Bench Division of the High Court has power to try any action from high treason to the most trivial assault. The Commission of Assizes is directed to two Westminster Judges, to deliver the county goal. This Court constitutes a Court of the High Court of Justice. The Commissioners go out four times during the year; in summer and winter to take up both civil and criminal business, in spring and autumn for the latter only. The country is divided into eight circuits; and every judge appointed since 1873 is under obligation to go on circuit, though the general practice is to get the work done by Judges of the Queen's Bench Division alone. The Central

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Criminal Court, which has jurisdiction over all crimes in London and a large portion of the adjoining territory, is also a Court of the High Court of Justice; the graver cases being tried by a High Court Judge and the others by the Recorder, the Common Serjeant or the Judge of the City of London Court.

The Courts of the Quarter Sessions before Justices of the Peace of the country where they are held, try petty offences like obtaining money by false pretences, thefts not accompanied with violence, etc., while those of the Petty Sessions take cognizance of offences triable summarily as well as of those in which the accused is liable to be committed to the High Court.

I watched the trial of several actions at the Clerkenwell Petty Sessions Court presided over by Mr. Justice Edlin; and was much impressed with not only the justness of the majority of the sentences passed but also with the promptitude with which the judge did his work. Another noticeable feature of the business was the efficiency and vigilance which the police showed in the performance of their duty.

A word now as to the character of English witnesses. I had been taught to believe that only Indian witnesses were liars, but English Courts taught me the lesson that English witnesses were not more truthful. There "the action," according to Erskine's well-known saying, "does not lie unless the witnesses lie." In India the higher class of natives is as free from mendacity in private dealings as in giving evidence before the courts, while the lower and the uneducated class of Indians is certainly not worse than the constant attendants of the Bow Street Police Courts. In ever thought that obtaining money by false pretences, for instance, promising people to obtain certificates as teachers, or commissions for engaging counsel or attorneys, were so common in England; yet I was disabused of the idea. There is, it is true a great deal of perjury in India. Here, centuries of misrule have crushed much of that truthful manliness which characterised the Hindu in the past. The present system of Government has, moreover, brought him face to face with a highly compli-

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cated system of procedure unknown in India. Forged documents are largely used by him to prove even true claims. A large class of hangers-on about the courts is ever ready to sell its evidence to the highest bidder. Professional litigants in India entertain upon their establishment a number of persons who are ready to swear to anything, and treat the giving of evidence in a court as a question of mutual favour, *i.e.*, "if you give evidence for me, I shall do the same for you." Yet, I believe, the character of Indian witnesses is on the whole not worse than that of English witnesses.

Feature of Crime in England and Wales.

The statistics of *Crime in England and Wales*, moreover, show that quite a third of the crimes proceeded against summarily are crimes which are almost unknown in India. For instance, there is nothing in this country to parallel the 1,75,000 people charged every year with drunken and disorderly conduct, nor the eighty thousand with not sending their children to school; nor does this country present the same acute development of these extremely clever swindles, and commercial frauds that are so common in the more civilized countries of Europe.

The Justices of the Peace.

Next to the paid Magistracy of England are *The Justices of Peace* for the trial of petty criminal offences, for keeping the peace in a certain area of the country, as well as for the enforcement of all ordinances and statutes for the good of the peace and quiet rule and government of the people. They are appointed by a commission; and with the exception of the eldest sons of peers, County Court Judges and other holders of public offices, an estate in land worth £100 a year or the occupation of a dwelling-house assessed at £100 a year, qualifies a man for the honour.

The Justice of the Peace, the "great unpaid," was, however, till lately synonymous with rashness, ignorance, and class prejudice; and people used often to compare "Justice's justice" with that of professional lawyers. Bentham put his foot upon the system by preaching the doctrine of undivided responsibility; and though clergymen, starch-makers, or majors in the army, no longer exercise judicial authority, yet judging

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from the fact that Stipendiary Magistrates are only chosen by a few places like Birmingham, Manchester, Leeds and others, Englishmen appear to be quite satisfied with unpaid and unprofessional justice for a large portion of their country. These Courts are controlled by the Superior Courts in London, and the system corresponds with that of the Honorary Magistrates in India. Here the rich zemindar, the rising trader, the pushing money-lender or the flourishing *vakil* (lawyer) are the chief aspirants for the honour. But here, even now as in England in times gone by, "the great unpaid" are associated with ignorance and class prejudice and now and then with something worse also. The only consolation about the system is that the proceedings of these magistrates are controlled by trained officers; and, beyond airing their authority before their own dependents, they cannot do much mischief.

The great and most beneficial feature of the Criminal law of England, which compensates for many of its defects is, however, the complete separation of the functions of the magistrate and the police, as well as the complete judicial frame of mind in which the former brings on the trial of his cases. No combination of judicial and executive functions shall be tolerated in that country from any notions of maintaining the prestige of Government or peace and order in a given area of the country. Such a combination would be thought to be opposed to all ideas of jurisprudence. And were the modern English judge or magistrate to show the slightest bias, either for or against the prisoner, or unnecessarily interfere in the proceedings, or depart from his rôle of a silent spectator of the scene, or use harsh or reproachful language from the bench, the press would at once be down upon him, and the prisoner is thenceforward a hero—an object of universal sympathy. The judge never comments upon the prisoner's antecedents in charging a jury. They are to find him guilty or not guilty upon the facts proved. In fact the prisoner is always cautioned in not making any statement, as it will be taken in writing and might be used against him. In the United States they are even more jealous of private liberty, for they would not allow a man's person, abode, papers and

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effects to be seized or searched unreasonably or in a manner unauthorized by law, nor any warrant issued except upon well-founded presumption corroborated on oath, nor any person called upon to answer a charge, unless a true bill had been found against him by a grand jury.

The Americans have, moreover, an institution called the Supreme Court of the United States, which Lord Salisbury considers "a magnificent institution"—a subject of the greatest envy, one that gives stability to the institutions of the country, which, under the system of vague and mysterious promises here we look for in vain. The American Court has the power of negativing any measure passed by the Senate, but which is inconsistent with the constitution. I read that it seldom finds occasion to exercise its powers. Its mere existence keeps legislative bodies in check. It is an extraordinary institution and one most suited to democratic countries. But its adoption in India with certain modifications will be a source of much good. It may be given to this country, not only for pronouncing upon the validity or otherwise of legislative measures, but also, for deciding questions of magnitude between native Princes and the Government of India. Its constitution might be similar to that of the United States' Court; but, along with the ablest judges of the Indian High Courts ought to be associated lawyers of repute from both communities.

Police.

As regards the *Police* also, the English system is different from that prevailing in India. The system of a paid police force is of a recent date in England. In times gone by every township had its constable, either elected from amongst the men of the township or appointed by the justices. Till lately it was the law for every able-bodied man rated in the poor-rates at £4 or more, to serve as a constable of his parish, unless he was specially exempted. The law is still in the statute book, but it is never enforced. Special constables under an Act of Parliament could even now be and have been enrolled from all persons residing in the neighbourhood on the oath of credible witnesses that a riot had taken place or was appre-

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hended. If you refuse to serve, you are fined £5; your country's welfare is paramount. The regular Police Force is the creation of only yesterday. In London they have the City and the Metropolitan Police forces, both recruited from amongst the best conducted of old soldiers. They are veritable giants, brave and patient, yet obliging. In London you never hesitate to ask the policeman to point out the right omnibus to Westbourne Grove, or London Bridge, or to whistle for a cab, or assist you in finding your way. All your queries are answered with great civility and correctness. Every constable is supplied with a pocket map and would at once tell you the location of the desired street. One is absolutely bewildered at the number of questions these policemen have to answer every day. Yet they are always civil and therefore popular. That young man in blue, flirting with the pretty housemaid by the railing yonder, is no other but your "Bobby." In crowded thoroughfares, amidst the din of ten unbroken lines of carriages all rushing headlong, it is interesting to see the policeman extend his arms to let pedestrians pass. At his signal the whole stream stops; so great is their respect for the law. The men are paid much better than any in India. A constable receives not Rs. 7 a month but £1-12s. a week, an Inspector more than £200 a year. The best men are employed as detectives to check or detect commerical frauds, so common here. Yet we Indians are more peaceful than Englishmen at home; for we only require one constable to 1,370 inhabitants, whilst London requires one for every 56, the boroughs one for every 750, and the counties one for every 1,200 of the population. How different is this from the state of the Indian police, with which the Indians generally associate gross abuse of authority, torture, corruption, incivility, extortion, etc! Here the Police is feared, not so much for its authority as for its abuse of power.

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CHAPTER VIII.

Universities and Education.

Oxford.

I was always anxious to visit some English Universities; and was much gratified in receiving an invitation to Cambridge from Sir Roland Wilson, Lecturer on Indian Law; and to *Oxford* from Sir William Markby, both through the kindness of Mr. Ilbert. In both places the occasions were most interesting for an Indian. At Oxford it was Commemoration Day, an invitation to which I was told is a great honour in England. The galleries of the university hall were full of undergraduates, who had for the moment left off their English reserve and undemonstrativeness and treated their senators and visitors to a variety of songs and jokes, queer, common place, sometimes appropriate, but always good natured. My Indian dress at once attracted their notice; and my entrance into the hall not only elicited from them more than one cheer but also the remark: "Why don't you take off your hat, sir." Perhaps they did not know that taking off hats is not the custom in India. The occasion was for conferring honorary degrees upon distinguished personages as well as for reading prize poems. The vice-Chancellor was seated on a dias; I was given a seat below him. There were not more than half a dozen visitors. The members of the university were standing in a body in front of us; and, as each candidate for the degree was presented to the vice-Chancellor, an officer of the university drawled out in Latin his qualifications for the honour. The vice-Chancellor then rose, conferred the degree, repeating a formula in Latin and shook hands with the recipient of the honour, who was then given a seat beside him. There were about half a dozen of such presentations, each of which called forth cheers, songs and jokes from the undergraduates in the galleries. Among other persons who were given degrees that day, was a Professor of Botany from the Harward College, and as soon as he came up, the undergraduates shouted, "Hot potatoes."

After the degrees had been conferred, some prize essays and prize poems were read; and here also the undergraduates hit

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the readers hard in their weak parts. A reader of Budha's Life in verse faltered and showed nervousness in reading it. "Cheer up, sir, cheer up a little" and "Pour a little brandy down your throat, sir," were the shouts from the galleries. The whole function lasted for about an hour; and, instead of the vice-Chancellor treating us to a learned oration upon the benefits and progress of university teaching, the impossibility of Government finding employment for prize-men and graduates, or the importance of technical education and diversity of pursuits, or exhorting the graduates to show themselves worthy of their degrees—things which we are always treated to at prize distributions and university convocations in India, —we were treated to cheers for the ladies in blue and a variety of songs of the most comic description. The procession then marched out of the hall in order; and I was fortunate in being taken up in hand by Dr. Hammerton, Professor of Divinity in one of the Colleges. He at once took me to the Bodlien Library. This library, which dates from the 5th century, contains about 2,50,000 volumes and 20,000 manuscripts. Its room, which is reached by a stair-case, has a handsome ceiling. The most noticeable feature about the institution was not only the stillness and solemnity that reigned throughout, nor the graduates and the attendants moving about noiselessly and speaking in whispers, but also the manner in which the books were arranged, rendering it possible for the attendants to bring the desired one out at once from the most ponderous shelf in a most inaccessible corner or a most crooked passage. The library, however, appeared to be wanting in light and it strained the eyes to read there for any length of time.

My most learned companion then showed me the school tower; and after having introduced me to Dr. Murray, the compiler of one of the most valuable English dictionaries ever published, sent me off to see the principal colleges and other objects of interest in this seat of learning.

The first building which I visited was the Martyrs' Memorial, built in 1841 in honour of Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer, who were burnt near this place for fighting against the Church of Rome. The figure of Cranmer with his Bible, and

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those of Ridley and Latimer, with the steadfast attitude of the one and the air of meekness about the other, are all evidence of the immense genius displayed in this work of art.

I next visited Baliol College, a place renowned for the literary attainments of its members and largely resorted to by Indian students. Its stained glass windows dating from the 14th century, its chapel with its fine screen, its grounds with their elms, are all in harmony with its classical character. It was from here that John Wickliff published the first English translation of the Bible.

St. Mary Magdelene, where I next went, is remarkable for the emblems of martyrs that are used in its decorations. It has a very fine parapet. But its grounds though good are not equal to those of Baliol. The venerable building of St. John's College, which I entered next, did not impress me so favourably as its most lovely gardens, the result of centuries of cultivation and a favourite subject of the artist's pencil. So greatly charmed was I with this spot that I was loth to leave it when my guide said that it was time to go. Worcester College, which was built in the last century on the site of an old institution of the 13th century, next attracted me, not so much for its building, but for the pleasantly shaded walk in its gardens, which I enjoyed by taking more than one round through its beautiful avenues. The last building, which I had time to visit at Oxford, was the New Examination Hall built in 1882 at a cost of £1,00,000. The building is one of the largest of its kind in Oxford and could accommodate a thousand students. Some examinations were going on there at the time, and the way in which they were conducted was not different from the way of conducting examinations in India.

Before visiting Oxford I was under the impression that an Indian graduate only was the result of cramming. At Oxford I had a talk with Professor Sayce on the subject, who soon disabused me of the idea, for his opinion seemed to be that an Oxford graduate was no less a result of the same process.

But what ought to interest an Indian most is the Indian Institute, to which Sir Monier Williams has devoted his life.

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I only hope his idea of making Indians and Englishmen "know more of each other and each other's language, literature and industries" will prove more than the cant of the day for similar institutions in England. One is so often disappointed at the result of such efforts that it is never safe to be very optimistic. However if, as he says, the Professor could save Indians from the temptations so common in England, or devise means to enable them to keep caste whilst residing there, or send out to India "Englishmen of well-formed characters and free from all tendencies to self-conceit, or arrogance of manner, capable of governing themselves, so that they could govern others, able to be firm yet not overbearing, patterns of justice and morality and Christian rectitude," he would bring India within measurable distance of the millennium. As it is, he has done something in getting us a few scholarships as well as in making his university recognise Indian classics.

I had the pleasure of a long conversation with the learned professor on Indian subjects. His house, which was near the South Kensington Museum in London, contained Indian curiosities; and, as was expected, he was full of Indian topics. He showed me the proof sheets of his Sanscrit Dictionary and spoke to me of the great labour it had cost him. I have read some of the learned professor's works. His Sanscrit Grammar is a most valuable book. His Translation of the Sakuntala is equally excellent. In India, however, some people say that his sympathies for this country are not so broad nor so deep as those of Max Müller; and some of Sir Monier Williams' writings apparently justify this opinion.

Cambridge.

Professor Seeley's Rede lecture was the occasion of my visit to *Cambridge*. My friend Sir Roland Wilson showed me round, and I could not have been in better hands nor enjoyed more sincere hospitality. The author of "The Expansion of England" addressed his lecture to a comparatively small but learned audience, and treated his subject in his usual masterly style. I was, however, disappointed at the summary way in which he dismissed India. The latter's progress during the Victorian

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era surely deserved more than a few remarks from a man like Mr. Seeley. Yet it was interesting to hear him characterise the fifty years of the Queen's reign as a period of culture, education, and philanthropy; and his allusion to the mastiff-like character of John Bull was too good to be lost. The Professor rightly holds that it would not do to import European civilisation wholesale into India, but where the line should be drawn he does not say.

At the conclusion of the lecture Sir Roland Wilson showed me round some of the Colleges. The Queen's, the King's, St. Catherine's, Christ's and the Trinity Colleges were among those which he showed me. The first three date from the 15th, and the last two from the 16th century. Each has its chapel, its grounds, its antiquated rooms, and its historical associations, consisting of the rooms, the benches, the writings or the scratches on its tables made by boys who distinguished themselves in after life. He also showed me some of the undergraduates' rooms, which, though they were furnished in the simplest style possible, presented an appearance of neatness which may well serve as a model for similar rooms in India. In the evening we visited the Boat Races on the Little Cam. It was an hour well spent; and I would give anything to have the sight repeated at an Indian university. Every body was in the best of moods; and uniforms, boating costumes, spring fashions of every hue and tint, above all the sympathetic cheering of the crowds and the energy with which the rowers tried to give each other a ducking or drank each other's health, their iron sinews, and splendid physiques, could not all fail to strike me favourably.

There is still some controversy between antiquarians as to which of the two universities is older. Both have, however, contributed largely to the intellectual revival of their country, and there is thus not much to choose between them. Oxford is however somewhat more sentimental than Cambridge. At all events it has always taken a prominent part in many religious movements, the last being the Tractarian movement in which Dr. Newman figured so conspicuously. It has given India among others a Max Müller, who is a Hindu of Hindus,

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and whose name is now known by almost every Pandit. It was Oxford that also gave the world a Blackstone who first made jurisprudence speak the language of the scholar and the gentleman.

Edinburgh and Glasgow Universities.

In Scotland also I visited the *Edinburgh and the Glasgow Universities*. Edinburgh has long been a great place of learning. It is the Athens of Great Britain; and its University, dating from the 16th century, is so far at least as the medical department and philosophy are concerned, still very largely resorted to. The cost of education is about the same as at Oxford or Cambridge or a little less, and for those inclined towards philosophical studies, no place could be better. They have more than 3,500 students, and have lately established a school-master's diploma—a thing very much needed in India, where any body who can do nothing else becomes a school-master. In its hall I saw statutes of some of its most distinguished *alumni*, of Sir William Hamilton, Dugald Stewart, Hume, and others, the philosophic element greatly preponderating. Like Oxford and Cambridge, Edinburgh does not grant degrees to women but gives them a pass certificate equivalent to its M.A. Examination.

The Glasgow University is the smallest of the four I visited. It dates from the 15th century and has about 2,000 students mostly in arts. Its most distingushed *alumnus* has been Adam Smith, the author of the *Wealth of Nations*; and some of the addresses given at its installations are yet reckoned as master-pieces of English eloquence.

Influence of English Universities.

If any thing has moulded the character of the middle and the high class Englishman after his insular position, it is his *Universities* Nothing else could have produced their Gladstones, Max Müllers, Macaulays, and many others, who have exercised or still exercise such a vast literary or political influence over their countrymen. Bacon's scientific method, which shook the old system of inquiry to its foundations, Milton's masterly defence of the liberty of the Press, Lock's philosophical speculations, Newton's discoveries, Adam

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Smith's teachings of political economy, Samuel Johnson's hard hits against cant and humbugs, Jeremy Bentham's reform of the English law, these and many other things which have so largely contributed to the progress of the English nation, are in a great measure due to the influence exercised upon the reformers by their Universities.

Recent reforms in the English Universities have, however, brought their degrees within the reach of the poorest student, who, can now take his degree at either Oxford or Cambridge without belonging to any affiliated College. A movement, which has brought high education within easier reach of the provinicial student, has also lately originated at Cambridge; and Oxford and London have followed it. There are two terms in the year; and a course of twelve lectures is delivered by itinerant lecturers during each term. At the end of each term a special examination is held; and certificates are awarded to successful students, six of these certificates entitling the holder to the highest distinction under the scheme, namely, the vice-Chancellor's certificate. There is a number of affiliated centres, whose students become members of the University without undergoing the two previous examinations. In this way about eighty lecturers are employed; and in 1890 they gave some 7,000 lectures in 227 centres to more than 40,000 students who paid a fee varying between one shilling and half-a-guinea. But though the scheme has brought the teaching, it has not brought the influence of the great English Universities nearer people's homes. But even as it is, it is a most useful scheme and one that other countries like India may imitate.

University Clubs.

Another great feature of University training in England is the habit of method and correct expression of thought on public matters learnt in its *Clubs* or Unions. Not only do such institutions afford excellent opportunities for the cultivation of the art of oratory, but also prepare the ground for entry into political life. In fact every successful English politician remembers and testifies with pleasure to the germ of public spirit that was planted in him by his University Union. In Edinburgh they showed me the minute books of the

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Speculative Society of their University. Some of the minutes were written by Sir Walter Scott, when he acted as Secretary; and it was a pleasure to find the discussions on such difficult topics as Woman's Suffrage, Drunkenness as a Plea for Crime, characterised with all the philosophic depth and soundness of matured thought. The young members of such Unions generally commence by being out-and-out Tories, full of admiration for the institutions of their country and become Radicals or Liberals in after life, according to circumstances. Therefore they say in England: "As Conservative as an undergraduate:" and "As Radical as an undergraduate" so now-a-days generally goes the saying in India, for experience of the world only cools down the young Indian patriot's zeal for reform in the Government of his country.

English Schools.

After the Universities come the great *Public Schools,* Eton, Harrow, Rugby and others. The first dates from the 15th and the second and third from the 16th century. They are very richly endowed; and not only count among their scholars some of the leading men in England, but also like the Universities maintain a life-long influence over them. Their exhibitions and scholarships, which range from £50, are often sufficient to make a lad of promise take his degree at a University without costing his parents a farthing. The names of some of their masters like Dr. Arnold, Mr. Bosworth Smith the author of the "Life of Lord Lawrence," are well known even in India; and their mottoes, their games, their magazines and their discipline, have all produced an influence upon the high-class Englishmen, which, can not be gauged in India. It is however doubted by many if they have been equally successful in making their scholars fit for the race of life; and people say that they have produced more gentlemen than men nerved for the struggles of existence—a remark equally true of English Schools in India.

Primary or Mass Education.

To come now to *Primary or Mass Education* which in England does not date further back than fifty years. Before that period private individuals or religious bodies had the charge of it,

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as was the case in India before the advent of British rule; and I read of not one man in ten and not one woman in twenty being able to read and write a hundred years ago. Moreover, the aversion of the peasantry to send their children to school was even greater in England sixty years ago than in India at the same period. Now it has all been changed by the General Education Act of 1870, which has since been largely amended. The country is now divided into a number of school districts, each of which is bound to find sufficient school accommodation for all the children resident within it. School Boards and School Committees have also been established; and they are required to make bye-laws for the compulsory attendance of all children residing within their circle. In 1889 there were thus about 2,00,000 schools in England and Wales with accommodation for about five and a half million scholars, the average daily attendance being above three and a half millions. The whole system costs Government about one third of a million sterling, But even now it is not fully popular; for, in the same year there were some 4,000 more prosecutions under the Act than in the preceding year. When the Act was passed, it was the subject of much discussion; and even now, in spite of its avowed object of making English labour more effective and its rivalry with other nations more successful, it has failed to find that favour with the English labourer which its authors had expected. The idea prevails that, though primary education makes a man a better citizen or a pupil more apt for a trade or a profession, yet no Government has a right to make it compulsory. All that it ought to do is to subsidise it liberally and leave it to the subjects' option to avail themselves of it. In Germany and the United States, where no such system of compulsory education is in force, the results are certainly better than in England. The benefits of education being there recognized by the public, everybody voluntarily sends his children to school without a Compulsory Education Act. The United States, moreover, spend a much larger sum than England on primary education; thus showing that it is not by compulsion that education can make progress in a country

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or make a man a better citizen or a more successful competitor in the race of life. In England also, cases are very common of a widow, having an only grown-up son or daughter to earn for or look after the family, having been reduced to great straits because of this system of compulsory education; and it is not surprising if until lately magistrates refuse to convict persons charged with offences under the Education Act. It is also the opinion of many competent authorities that the present system of education has no formative influence on the pupil. It does not certainly touch his nature for good nor mould his character. In fact it is a lifeless, mechanical, system which, instead of qualifying a lad of fourteen for becoming an intelligent apprentice or a skilled workman later on, leaves him dependent upon the rule of thumb, thus proving inferior to the system of intellectual culture, with sound instruction in the rudiments and principles of local arts and manufactures, followed in the Continental schools. The whole subject has been lately enquired into by two Royal Commissions, whose recommendations regarding technical education combined with intellectual culture, have been adopted in the new Educational Code; but with what result remains to be seen.

Technical Education.

To come now to *Technical Education* in England. I used often to visit the London Polytechnic Institute in Regent Street. This institution, which is a great technical and recreative school, is attended by some 9,000 students and costs for its maintenance about £15,000 a year. Another institution of a like kind in the East End of London is the People's Palace opened in 1887. The great feature of the latter institution is its trade-shops and technical schools. In London such institutions are either maintained or largely patronised by its various trade companies and trade guilds. The most important of these is the Central Institute for Technical Education in South Kensington, which has affiliated as many as 500 technical classes in the various towns of England. These are attended by more than 12,000 students, who are taught modelling, designing, wood-engraving, china-painting, house decoration, etc., etc. Its pupils qualify either for posts in the

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factories or as teachers in technical schools, engineers, electricians, managers of chemical works, etc. The instruction imparted is of the most varied kind; and, with the fresh impulse given to it by the Technical Education Act, bids fair to remove the great complaint against modern English education, that it is too purely literary and teaches one little that will be of practical value to a man of business. Connected with this is the great scheme of commercial education, which owes its initiative to the Chambers of Commerce, in England. Under this system pupils are trained in commercial knowledge at the various evening classes that have been formed throughout the country. Their object is to remove the great disadvantage under which England is now thought to labour as compared with her foreign rivals. They instruct the pupil in the objects of commerce, the economic laws and regulations which control it, commercial law, commercial geography, foreign languages, in short in all that will fit him for practical business life. They are as popular as technical schools; and the School Examination Boards of both Oxford and Cambridge have partly encouraged them by granting certificates for proficiency in commercial knowledge.

In comparing the results of the English system of education, briefly sketched above, with the results of the system of education followed in India, the first striking feature about the two great English Universities is that, in addition to sending out every year three or four hundred well-educated men, they send out twenty or thirty very able men, which is more than can be said of all the Indian Universities put together. English Universities thus give the world what is called a well-educated gentleman: one who can possess a political character, be capable of assuming an independent public position and have both mental and bodily vigour, which I am afraid, is not true of a great many of our Indian University men. John Knox, the great Scotch reformer, speaking at the University of St. Andrew's in Glasgow, said that the great object of learning was to know God, to use time well and to stand by the good cause. Well may one ask the *alumni* of our Indian Colleges and Universities as to how many of them

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have learnt to know God, have learnt to use their time well or stand by the good cause. Education in India is on every body's lips. It is now not necessary to tell the Indian people the value of education. But the question is: Do our Indian schools and colleges educate successfully? Do they teach the young student his duty to God and man; do they, by enlarging his mind, make him fear God and be ashamed of doing wrong? And after all what is the present ideal of an educated man? He must know something about the sciences, languages, history, political economy, mathematics, politics, etc., etc., and yet he may be ignorant of the very first principles of his own religion, of every thing which the world values as useful, and be most helpless if thrown upon his own resources. If this be, as it is, I believe, the result of the present system of education, then the sooner it is reformed the better. Carlyle's definition of an educated man was that he should be a healthy man all round, healthy in body, healthy in mind, healthy in morals. Says he: "A man with his intellect, a clear, plain, geometric mirror, brilliantly sensitive of all objects and impressions around it, and imagining all things in their correct proportions—not twisted up into convex or concave, and distorting everything, so that he cannot see the truth of the matter without endless groping and manipulation—healthy, clear, and free, and all round about him."*

This ideal is too great to be attained; but I believe it is more successfully striven after in England than in India. The reason why the present system of education has failed in producing men of true education is that it is a system of a royal road to learning. The student with his head full of a little science, some history, a smattering of philosophy and a very shallow acquaintance with literature, compares himself with pride with the *pandit* or the *maulavi* of old, whose stock of knowledge consisted only of one subject, grammar, logic, philosophy, poetry or religion, and who is ignorant of what is going on in the world, of the progressive sciences of Europe, politics, newspapers, etc., etc. But can our young

* Carlyle's *Address at the Edinburgh University* 2nd April, 1866.

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student, with his knowledge of many subjects, say that he knows them otherwise than skin-deep, while the *pandit* or the *maulavi* knows his one subject well. The latter's culture, though a very one-sided culture, is not without its advantages. If he but knew one subject well and had some information about others he would be the ideal of an educated man. Another reason is, that the College or University scholar of to-day lacks the discipline of the student. Hindu Shastras require him to revere his teacher as he does his God; and the teacher to prove his fitness for this extraordinary honour by showing in his own life the practical illustration of what he teaches in morality or religion. The student has to live and pass his studentship with his preceptor and show his obedience by serving him as required. The first thing he had to learn was the discipline of poverty. His fare was the hardest, for he could only eat what his preceptor would allow him to. If rich in mind he was to remain poor in body till he returned to his family. It was also the same in England in times gone by; and men like John Knox, Luther, Milton, Kepler, and others, were brought up in this way. In India, too, nothing else could have produced its Sankaracharya, its Vyasa or its Kalidasa. Now it not so. This is an age of facilities, of rapid progress, of University degrees attained in a few years meaning the completion of one's education, of early marriage, of boy-fathers who have children to think of while they themselves are taking their lesssons at school, of teachers who show little care for their pupils' manners or morals after school hours. No wonder everybody, parents, teachers, government and students themselves all complain. As Froude the historian says: "Light, yes, we want light, but it must be light which will help us to work and find food and clothes and lodging for ourselves." "And the way to attain this end is," as he says, "that every boy born in the world should be put in the way of maintaining himself in honest independence. No education, which does not make this its first aim, is worth anything at all. A tree must be rooted in the soil before it can bear flowers and fruit. A

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man must learn to stand upright upon his own feet to respect himself, to be independent of charity or accident. It is on this basis only that any superstructure of intellectual cultivation worth having can possibly be built. Yet the original necessities remain unchanged. The Ten Commandments are as obligatory as ever; and practical ability, the being able to do something and not merely to answer questions, must still be the backbone of the education of every boy who has to earn his bread by manual labour. Add knowledge afterwards as much as you will, but let it be knowledge which will lead to the better doing of each particular work which a boy is practising; every fraction of it will thus be useful to him; and if he has it in him to rise, there is no fear but he will find opportunity. The poet Coleridge once said that every man might have two versions of his Bible; one the book that he read, the other the trade that he pursued, where he would find perpetual illustrations of every Bible truth in the thoughts which his occupation might open to him. I would say, less fancifully, that every honest occupation to which a man sets his hand would raise him into a philosopher if he mastered all the knowledge that belonged to his craft."*

It is both the duty as well as the interest of the State to educate its subjects; and the education of the people is one of the most effectual means for securing peace in the Government and their ignorance one of its greatest dangers. It is also true that in India, any more than in England or any other country, the education of the people cannot be left to themselves. The question however stares one in the face as to whether, in Indian mass education also, the results have been as unsatisfactory as in collegiate or high school education. The Government here has more than a hundred thousand schools attended by some two millions of scholars for education in the three R.'s. Its four thousand schools for secondary education are attended by half a million of students, while it maintains or patronizes more than a hundred colleges attended by more than 10,000 students for high education. Thus in India it is fully alive to its duty in this respect; and though

* Speech at the University of Glasgow, dated 19th March 1869.

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it now and then grumbles at the cost, yet I believe it does not intend to stop short in doing all it can for the education of the people. The latter have also shown their value of education by paying directly or through municipal rates about two-thirds of the total cost, besides maintaining a number of colleges for higher English education as well as Oriental learning. But the tradesman, the peasant, the merchant or the land-holder, who sends his children to school, now asks the question whether after all it is worth his while to spend his money and waste the best years of his children's life in studies, which, only make them hanker after petty appointments in Government offices and which unfit them for their own business. The son of the village peasant is not a better agriculturalist for his education ncr is he freer from the clutches of his money-lender. The young hopeful of the city merchant, trader, or banker, is not a better merchant, trader, or banker, for his learning; nor has he learnt to develop the resources of his country.

This naturally leads to the question cf technical and commercial education in India. Both of these promise to be soon made a part and parcel of the system of education in England. In India the subject is of greater importance, both from the increasing poverty of the people as well as from the disappearance of many local industries before foreign competition through machine-made goods. The Government of India has expressed its readiness to do all that its funds allow in this respect. But before its action can achieve the desired end, the Indian people shall themselves have largely to supplement its efforts. There are no trade guilds or trade companies in India corresponding to the trade companies of London to support schools for technical education. The native artizan or mechanic has yet to know the value of machinery over hand work, of quantity over quality, of trade competition being carried on in European countries with all the intensity of warfare, or the native capitalist the value of investment in other than land or houses or jewellery or government securities or commision agency business. As things stand, technical education in India requires for its success a change in

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all these respects. As it is, a technical training shall only be a whit more successful than the training of Indian students in English agricultural colleges. The latter cannot find employment for their talents among their own countrymen, and have to look to the Government for utilizing their knowledge. While therefore the Government may be required to do its share of the duty, by making such changes in its educational system as would make it less ornamental and more useful in after life, more to enable a lad to stand upon his feet and walk alone, "to fear God, and stand by the good cause," the public cannot also be relieved of its share of the duty. In England, from inquiries made at various trade centres, I learnt that there was no disinclination to teach an Indian desirous to learn the mysteries of cotton, or leather, or china, or glass or even steel and iron. In France also I asked the manager of the Louis Crystal Company if he had any objection to take an Indian apprentice and he seemed to have none. Only the inclination is wanting, which probably necessity will soon create. Our capitalists, who have of late shown greater inclination to invest money in cotton and other mills, are under the necessity of employing highly paid imported labour for setting up and superintending the machinery. If they spare a portion of their funds for having a number of native youths trained in England ~~in this respect~~, the outlay shall be soon recouped.

Facilities for Education of Young Indians in England.

The last question that I shall take up in this connection is the prospects of those *Indians Who go to England for the Completion of their Studies*. Their number is increasing every year because of the prevalence of an idea in Indian society that an English education is now-a-days necessary for those who aspire to greater success in life. The number of those who avail themselves of the present facilities for an English education is greater among the richer portion of the Indian middle than in the upper classes; and it would be a service to show to parents and students both sides of the picture. It is true that the number of private and public institutions for the education and superintendence of Indians

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has of late greatly increased in England. The number of families, mostly those of retired Anglo-Indians, which, for a small sum of money, offer them decent home comforts, is also large; and no one who has had any experience of them can have any hesitation in saying that, for a middle class Indian gentleman no better place for sojourn in a foreign land can be desired. Foremost among those institutions which superintend the young Indian's education in England is the Northbrook Indian Society, and I could not do better than give its praiseworthy programme in its own words:—

"The main object of the Society is to provide a system of guardianship for gentlemen of good family or position in India, sent to England for education. The want of such a system has been much felt by parents in India, the difficulty being one that could only be surmounted by those who happened to have friends in England willing to undertake what must always be an onerous responsibility.

"A remedy for this want is the more necessary, since the Government has adopted the policy of employing natives of India more largely in the higher departments of the administration. The Society desires not only to assist young gentlemen to qualify themselves for the career thus opened for them, but, by encouraging parents to educate their sons in England, to aid the Government in carrying out and extending their present policy.

"In addition to their special work, the Society will render such assistance as may be proper under the circumstances of the case to Indian gentlemen applying to them; to many of whom their Secretary, Captain McNeile, has upon several occasions been able to render considerable service.

"The Society is composed of some of the highest and best retired Indian officials; and for the moderate sum of £10 a year, it undertakes to meet the student on his arrival, to procure lodgings for him, and to make all necessary arrangements for his education, whether at a University or Inn of Court, or by the employment of tutors or otherwise, as arranged in each case; to make out of the remittances placed at its disposal, all payments requisite for the above objects,

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as well as the personal allowances agreed upon with the parent or guardian; and generally to superintend the student's conduct; to communicate to the parents or guardians the progress made by those entrusted to its care; and, when required, by anything in the conduct of a student, advise as to the proper measure to be taken."

Equal, perhaps greater, in importance than the Northbrook Society, is the Indian National Association, of which I have already spoken elsewhere.

"The main object of their scheme is to afford counsel and assistance to the students, and provide for them a system of friendly supervision, under which it is believed, many evils to which they are at present exposed may be avoided, and many advantages placed within their reach. It is hoped that by a system of carefully directed expenditure and frequent reports, habits of extravagance may be prevented, and much of the anxiety at present felt on this and other grounds by parents may be removed."

The Association thus not only assists a student in acquiring a knowledge of the best side of English house-life but also in qualifying for the profession or calling he is best fitted for, as well as for technical education and study of arts and the manufactures of Europe. Its success is largely due to the great energy and devotion of Miss Manning, its Secretary. Miss Manning, as I have already said, proves the guardian angel of every young Indian who chooses to avail himself of her motherly care; and it is impossible to be in her company for ever so short a time without being forcibly struck with the deep interest she takes in her self-imposed labours.

Dr. Leitner's Institute at Woking, which aims at keeping Indians not only true to their home associations but also to their Indian habits in all matters of food, dress, way of living, etc., is not largely patronized by Indian students. The learned Doctor used frequently to tell me of his always insisting upon Hindus cooking their own food or bringing their own cooks and living as they do in India. But few Indians care to do so in London; and even though he offers to take them all over Europe for a few pounds, not more than

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one or two Indians have availed themselves of his assistance. Professor Monier Williams' Indian Institute at Oxford has also similar objects in view. It has received the support of the Oxford University, the Royal Family, the princes and noblemen of India, and several high officials in this country. Its object is to bring together all those who are interested in Oriental studies or are preparing for Indian careers. To the young Indian student who goes to Oxford to enlarge his mind by a course of study at its University, though not a place of residence during the term or vacation, it aims at being a great help and guidance in preventing his being deteriorated by taking his own course. This Institute I found was also not largely availed of by Indian students in Oxford, because of their not conforming to the ways of its founder; and it seemed to me that many of them preferred an independent course to what they thought to be too great a check upon their actions. These together with the many retired Anglo-Indians and others who undertake the tuition of Indian students in England show that there are probably more facilities than are needed for such purposes. The cost of an English education is as follows:—

For an ordinary school education, from £150 to £200 a year, according to the age of the pupil and the standing of the school.

For a student at the University about	£300 a year or
For the 12 terms required for taking a degree about	£1,000
For an Indian Civil Service student	„ 275
For a Law student at the Inns of Court ...	„ 250
For an Agricultural student	„ 250

These sums include tuition, board and residence, dress, vacation expenses, and cost of superintendence; but do not include expenses of outfit on arrival, which are estimated at about £30; nor would these sums include admission fees on entering an Inn of Court, which are about £150. For other professional and technical training, the amount must be settled in each case according to the course of study decided on.

But the charm of novelty being over, both Indian students as well as their parents are beginning to ask the question:

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whether after all it is worth while to spend their £2,000 or £3,000 for mere chances of success in professions which are already showing more dissappointments than successes, or for appointments under Government which an Indian education also obtains without the trouble and expense and social excommunication that a journey to England involves. The Indian parent's fear of his son being exposed to temptations of the most dangerous and alluring kind in London was anticipated by Blackstone, who, in speaking of the dangers to which an English youth coming to London to qualify for the bar was exposed, said:—"A raw inexperienced youth in the most dangerous season of life, is transplanted on a sudden into the midst of allurements to pleasure, without any restraint or check but what his own prudence can suggest; with no public direction in what course to pursue his inquiries; no private assistance to remove the distress and difficulties which will always embarrass a beginner. In this situation he is expected to sequester himself from the world, and by a tedious lonely process to extract the theory of law from a mass of undigested learning; or else by an assiduous attendance on the courts, to pick up theory and practice together, sufficient to qualify him for the ordinary run of business. How little therefore is it to be wondered at that we hear of so frequent miscarriages; that so many gentlemen of bright imaginations grow weary of so unpromising a search, and addict themselves wholly to amusements, or other less innocent pursuits; and that so many persons of moderate capacity confuse themselves at first setting out, and continue ever dark and puzzled during the remainder of their lives."*

This is even truer of the London of to-day than it was of those days. In fact those best competent to judge speak feelingly, not only of the dangers so forcibly pointed out by Blackstone, but also of the immense risk which Indian parents incur by sending boys other than the most intelligent to the destruction of the latter's prospects in life. The young Indian in London, whatever accounts he may be sending to his parents of his being received in high society is, moreover,

* Blackstone's *Commentaries* 16th Edition, Vol. I. pp. 30–31.

no longer the star of fashion; nor do noble lords and charming ladies extend to him the right hand of fellowship. He had now-a-days to content himself with the company of the few retired Anglo-Indians and others who keep up or show some interest in India, or of the few friends of the Northbrook Club or the National Indian Association who are anxious to patronize Indians. He is no more invited to the great London or country houses than is his fellow pupil Smith or Brown. His life in London is thus as matter-of-fact and as unromantic as it is in India. People no longer treat him as a Raja or a Nawab. No wonder he complains of knowing so few people in London. The shady side of the picture is thus also as worthy of the consideration of both Indian parents and Indian students as its bright side. And while it would be of great advantage to every Indian gentleman of well formed character and well established position to extend his knowledge of men and manners and his opportunities of public usefulness, by a visit to Europe, it is time that Indian parents were pointed out the folly of sending every lad to England. None but those of exceptionally good parts are likely to fulfil their expectations of profiting by an English education. There is also no necessity for sending boys at too early an age. On the contrary, with the present increased limit of age for the Civil Service, a boy may well postpone his going to Europe till he has passed his Little-go at an Indian University. He shall thus not only be in a better position to keep up his home associations, but also to remove the complaints now made against Indian students, both at the Inns of Court as well as at the Universities, that they are not sufficiently acquainted with English to understand the lectures.

Regarding the social aspect of the question I cannot do better than quote from my pamphlet on Social Reform in Hindu Society. There I say:—

"The fault lies both ways—with the caste in being unreasonable enough to excommunicate all who undertake foreign travel —and with the persons who undertake such travel in offending against the rules of their caste by adopting foreign modes of dress, eating forbidden food and drinking forbidden liquors,

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both when they are in foreign countries as well as on their return to India and yet expecting their caste-fellows to welcome them back into their society. On the contrary, if both were more reasonable and met each other half way, the difficulty would be more easily solved. For instance, in my own case because I steadily adhered to my former habits both in the matter of food as well as in the matter of dress, I was gladly and with open arms welcomed back into my own community, without ever so such as a word having been said as to my having lost or not lost my caste, or without my being required to perform any expiatory ceremonies. On the contrary, I believe my opportunties for doing good to my own countrymen have in a manner vastly increased by my knowledge of English life and English ways of thought; and I am sure the same will be the case with every one else who prefers the good opinion of his own society to any fancied ideas of increased familiarity with foreigners. In England also my Indian dress, instead of being a source of disadvantage or discomfort, was quite the reverse; and many places, which would have not been otherwise open to me, were opened because of that dress. In the matter of food also, my habits of vegetarianism were everywhere respected; and whether in the palaces of Her Majesty the Queen or the mansions of the rich or the cottages of the poor, wherever I had the honour of being presented or asked to dinner or lunch, my wants were all, as if it were, anticipated. To conclude, I feel that the only possible solution of the question before us lies in the determined resolution of every Indian who goes to Europe to adhere to his former habits in the way of dress and other things; and to use his increased knowledge for the advancement of his countrymen in a manner they may be able to appreciate; in a word, while increasing his own knowledge of European sciences, arts and institutions, to return from Europe with the same habits of simplicity as he had when he left for it. If he does so, his caste will meet him more than half way; very probably it will not even think of excommunicating him at all." *

* *Social Reform* pp. 66–68-69.

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CHAPTER IX.

Religion—Churches.

"BE TRUTHFUL AND DO YOUR DUTY."

The Church: English Churches.

The theory of an established *State Church*, meaning thereby a Church with defined legal restraints and privileges imposed upon it by the State, is, I believe, only found in Western countries. In India, although the king was the defender of religion, yet the latter did not carry with it any privileges and restraints in the way the Church of England does. The latter claims for it an apostolic as well as an independent origin. Its government is vested in its Bishops, Priests and Deacons. Its clergy number about 24,000; and its two archbishops and twenty-four bishops have seats in the House of Lords. It claims about 60 per cent. of the population of the country, though probably in theory only. Its revenues from endowments in tithes, lands and voluntary offerings amount to about eight millions sterling per annum. It has three great party divisions: (1) The High Church, which attaches great value to doctrine and discipline, to rites and sacraments not only as devotional aids and convenient symbols but as peculiar and special means of grace; (2) The Low Church, which sets little value upon niceties of ceremonials and thinks them to be undue restraints upon devotion and true worship; (3) The Broad Church, which extends liberty of belief within the church to its broadest limits, and attaches the greatest importance to a life of purity, to one of living according to the true precepts, rather than the theology of the Christian religion. The High Church thus corresponds with the ceremonial and the Broad Church with the truer and the more esoteric portion of other religions.

In London alone there are some 1,500 churches providing accommodation for about a million of people every Sunday morning and evening. My visits to the principal ones, like St. Paul's, St. Margaret's and others, however, left upon me the impression that the Established Church is now-a-days

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not such a living force in England as it is represented to be. The ordinary Englishman goes to church because it is a part of good breeding to do so. He leaves his religion behind him when he leaves his church. It was said by a great Duke on the occasion of a great victory in the House of Lords, that he thought the Almighty had not been well used by them, and that it would not become their magnanimity after so great a success not to record their acknowledgments to him! The church is, moreover, the church of the rich and not of the poor; and society would think you rude if you talked upon religion. The pastor who preaches to his congregation also knows the value of conforming his sermons to public taste, and even in the best sermons I heard I noticed more regard for things of this than of the other world. I once happened to be present at a sermon preached by one of the most eloquent preachers of his time, an ardent exposer of commercial dishonesty and the author of "Seekers after God," Archdeacon Farrar. It was his Jubilee sermon, delivered in his most impressive and eloquent style to a crowded congregation in St. Margaret's Church, Westminster. Yet, I thought the sermon fell short of arousing in the minds of its hearers feelings of gratefulness for the many favours which the Almighty had bestowed upon the English nation during the fifty years of the Queen's reign. The learned divine's pictures of the progress and prosperity of his country during that period, though extremely flattering to his audience, were to me a little too rose-colored in the face of the great misery and the squalid poverty of one-tenth of the population of London. These conditions require greatly to be ameliorated before the English nation can be complimented upon its progress during the Queen's reign.

In St. Paul's also I did not hear any sermons above the average. It was however outside the Established Church that I heard more effective sermons. For instance, I was greatly pleased with a sermon preached by the Rev. Stopford Brooke in Bedford Chapel, Bloomsberry. Another most impressive speaker of the day was Mr. Spurgeon, whom I went to hear in his tabernacle one Sunday. The tabernacle

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could accommodate 5,000 people; and Mr. Spurgeon, in a clear and impressive voice, full of sincerity and Christian feeling, discoursed for about an hour upon the immortality of the soul. His arguments carried more conviction to his followers than to me, because of my own convictions in this respect having a deeper foundation in the teachings of Hindu philosophy; yet I left the speaker deeply impressed with his great earnestness. The sale of his sermons exceeds 25,000 copies per week since 1885, which shows how great is the influence he exercises in his country.

Church Disestablishment.

The members of the Established Church in England are 13½ millions against 11 millions of other creeds. The advocates of *Church Disestablishment* therefore argue that the legislature, which represents every body, ought not to confer privileges upon particular religious bodies and thus create religious inequality. They say that an established Church being under State control, it can not adapt itself to changing circumstances, and that establishments obstruct political and social reform and injure religion by associating it with injustice. The number of these advocates is increasing every year in the House of Commons; and in 1886 every Liberal member returned declared in its favour.

In India also many people who are not Christians ask the question, as to why does the British Government not patronize their religion, when it spends £1,60,000 a year upon a Christian population of only two millions, and that also without much beneficent result, for the number of church-goers amongst its Indian officials is not very large. They do it better in France. There every sect whose number exceeds 1,00,000 is entitled to claim a grant from the State.

Christian Missions.

John Bull is very liberal in his *Christian Missions* to foreign countries; and the Baptist, the Church, the London, the Methodist and other Missionary Societies with incomes of hundreds of thousand pounds per annum, carry on their operations in India, China, Japan, Africa, Ceylon, the West Indies, New Zealand, etc., and though it is very doubtful if their conversions are in any

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proportion to the money they spend; they are doing great good by their schools, their hospitals and their efforts in bringing before the European world records of the manners and customs of the natives of those countries.

Position of Christianity.

In Europe *Christianity* has now-a-days to meet much opposition from both science and philosophy. Not only its views regarding God and the nature of the human soul, but those regarding creation and the age of the earth, its doctrine of revelation being contained not in Nature but in the Pope or the Scriptures, its ideas of the government of the world by Providence instead of by law, have all been challenged more or less successfully by modern science and thought. And it is not surprising if Theism, Agnosticism, Atheism, Materialism, Pantheism, Theosophy, Mahomedanism, Christianity without Christ, are being adopted by people in European countries. The drift of thought however appears to be towards a sort of esoteric Budhism or the religion of the Upanishads of the Hindus; and people will be found asking the question whether the doctrine of a world made in time, or that the mass of humanity is doomed to eternal damnation, or that very few will be found righteous enough to attain salvation, and that they will be saved only in consequence of the gift of grace and predestination, is after all a doctrine which can stand scientific progress. The Christianity of to-day is, moreover, not the Christianity of Christ. As taught by him it was the religion of loving God with our hearts, all our souls, all our might, all our strength, of being perfect as our Father in Heaven is perfect, of the right hand not knowing what the left gives. It was not the profit-and-loss philosophy of modern Europe nor its 'Gospel of Mammon,' as Carlyle calls it. Men of piety and learning are no longer the guides of modern European nations, but political economists, journalists, politicians, are. These, though they have their uses, cannot save them from public misery, which, I am afraid is increasing instead of decreasing in Europe in spite of all its progressive sciences and arts. Fetish worship, caste or other eastern customs which are the subject of much criticism by foreigners, are now-a-days not

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confined to the East. In England also they appear to flourish with full force though under different aspects. For instance, their fetish is money instead of gods and goddesses; and instead of hereditary castes they have even more rigid social distinctions, based upon wealth. In India, caste distinctions keep people content to remain where they are in the social scale; in England distinctions based upon money give rise to much anxiety among people of one class to mix or get into another and of the other to keep them down. Even now hereditary nobles look with no favourable eye upon persons newly raised to the peerage; and many are the sleepless nights and anxious days which ideas of social intercourse in Western countries give rise to. In short, while Christianity did much in the past for the human race, it can scarcely be called a force in modern Europe, or justify the belief that the present condition of the latter, whether in its sciences or arts or politics, is due to it alone.

Hinduism: What It is and What It is Not.

The same is the case with *Hinduism*: and, it would be as unfair to ascribe the present condition of India to its religion alone as it would be to ascribe the present progressive condition of Europe only to Christianity. Properly speaking, true Hinduism and true Christanity are not very different. I have already said what I think to be true Christianity as taught by Christ; and I shall now tell the reader what I think to be true Hinduism. I do not look upon the fetish worshipping Hinduism of to-day as true Hinduism; nor do I find any sanction in its earlier and purer sources for many of the degrading customs, many of the unmeaning practices, or many of the gross superstitions that now go under the name of the Hindu religion. The Hindu of the Vedas and the Upanishads looked upon caste as a merely social distinction based upon the possession of certain qualifications. He thought that one may be a Brahman or a Sudra according as he has the qualifications of the one or the other. He was not a worshipper either of stocks and stones or of money. He did not marry in haste to repent at leisure for bringing into the world a weakly offspring. He assigned to his women

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their proper place in society, saying that where women are honoured there the gods rejoice. He did not waste his money upon unmeaning ceremonies nor degraded himself by indulging in gross licentiousness. Intoxicating drinks were almost unknown to him. He looked upon *dharma* (duty) and truth as the two great mainstays of society. His scriptures recognized none but Brahma as the only One from whom the creation, the preservation and the dissolution of the Universe proceed. That Brahma was the supreme object of his knowledge; a knowledge, which led to supreme bliss and freed him for ever from birth and rebirth in this world of misery and trouble. Grasping without hands, hasting without feet, Omnipresent and Omniscient, smaller than the small, greater than the great, having his eyes, ears, hands, feet, everywhere pervading all, giving light to all the senses, but yet above them, within the heart of all yet above all, subtler than the subtle, the great Light of all lights; Brahma was *sat* (truth), *chit* (intelligence) and *anand* (bliss). Him he attained by disinterested preformance of duty, doing all for the sake of the Lord; and by constant prayer and meditation till his heart having washed off all its accumulated impurities he was able to realize the truth, "I am He." For this he prepared himself by qualifications like these :—

Absence of vanity, ostentation, abstention from injury, forgiveness, uprightness, devotion to preceptor, purity, constancy, self-restraint, indifference to objects of sense, absence of egotism ; realization of the misery and evil of birth, death, decrepitude, and disease; freedom from attachment to son, wife, home and the rest; constant equanimity of heart on attainment of good and evil; unswerving devotion to Me without meditation on any thing else; love of solitude, distaste for society; constant pursuit of the knowledge of the relation of the individual Self to the Supreme, and realization of the truth of knowledge—this is called Knowledge ; all else is Ignorance.*

* *Bhagvad Gita* Chap. XIII., Verses 6 to 11.

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This is a rough and meagre sketch of the true and ancient religion of India, to which modern Hindus shall have to assimilate their lives if they wish to keep themselves in touch with these progressive times. The teachings of Buddhism are also not different. Its four great truths—the truth of suffering, of the cause of suffering, of the cessation of suffering, and of the Path which leads to Salvation, are merely a repetition of the older religion of the Upanishads. For instance, when Budha was charged with denouncing action and preaching non-action, he replied: "I teach Siha the not doing of such actions as are unrighteous, by deed, by word and by thought. I teach the not bringing about of the manifold conditions of heart which are evil and not good. I teach the doing of such actions as are righteous by deed, by word and by thought. I teach the bringing about of the manifold conditions of heart which are good and not evil. I proclaim annihilation of lust, of ill-will, of delusion, the contemptibleness of falling into the manifold conditions of the heart which are evil and not good, the doing away of lust, ill-will and delusion." When they say that I proclaim *tappas* (asceticism)—" I teach Siha that all the conditions of the heart which are evil and not good, unrighteous actions by deed, by word and by thought must be burnt away. He who has freed himself, Siha, from all conditions of heart which are evil and not good, which ought to be burnt away, who has rooted them out, and has done away with them as a palm tree is rooted out, so that they are destroyed and cannot grow up again. Such a person do I call accomplished in *tappas*. He who has freed himself, Siha, from the necessity of returning in future into a mother's womb and of being re-born into new existences, who has rooted out his being subject to re-birth and has done away with it as a palm tree is rooted out so that it is destroyed and cannot grow up again, such a person I call *appagabha* (freed from birth, etc.). I am confident by the highest confidence and I teach the doctrine of confidence and train my desciples in it."*

* *Mahavagga* by Rhys David and Oldenburg, pp. 111 and 112.

It is, however, asked by many thinkers of note as to how a conception of God like the Hindu's which leads to a life of asceticism and abstraction from the world and gratification of sense, should have as its practical result a social system in which the grossest impurities are not only permitted but perpetrated under the sanction of religion. "How shall we account for the unbridled licence of a sensuous idolatry which, not content with actual existences, invents a thousand monstrosities incongruous and offensive shapes and symbols as expressions of the divine."* And Mr. Caird, from whose work entitled the "Philosophy of Religion" the above quotations are made, thinks that the Pantheistic or Cosmic idea of God, such as that of the Hindu, offers not only no hinderance to idolatry and immorality but may even be said to lead to them by a logical necessity. Says he: "In such a religion all finite things stand in one and the same relation to Him. For a God who is reached by the negation of all finite determination is simply the abstract notion of Being; and all existences, objects, actions, seeing they have this in common that they are, and bear one and the same relation to Him. No one of them is nearer to Him, no one more remote from Him, than another. Being manifest itself alike in the mean and the great in the vile, obscene, deformed, and the noble, the pure and the beautiful. It expresses itself equally in the lowest and highest forms of organic life, in reptiles, and beasts of prey, and in the human form divine. Moral distinctions disappear in such a conception of God. He is no nearer to the pure in heart than to the heart which is the haunt of selfish and sensual lusts. The lowest appetites and the loftiest moral aspirations, the grossest cruelties and impurities and the most heroic virtues, are alike consecrated by the presence of Deity. It is this view of the subject which accounts for that indiscriminating consecration of the finite world in its immediate multiplicity of forms and existences which is the characteristic of Brahmanic mythology. And it is this view also which accounts for its

Objections Answered.

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* Caird's *Philosophy of Religion* p. 32.

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defective morality. In a social system based on such a notion of Deity, whatever is, simply because it is, is right and divine. We need not wonder therefore to find in it not only the tolerance or sanction of vices which spring from the natural desires, but also of institutions like the system of Caste, involving and perpetuating inequalities the most cruel and unnatural."*

The above words however seem to come as a surprise from one whose own conclusions regarding religion are not very different from those of the religion he attacks. The God of the Hindu, which is reached by the Negation of all conditioned existence is also the God of Hegel, whose philosophy Mr. Caird expounds. Hegel, who adopted the principle of the identification of subject and object, merely re-echoed the sentiments of the Hindu Upanishads. His—(*Seyn*) *Being*—is the Brahma of the Hindu: for while Hegel considers it as apart from all conditions and to be the same as abstract nothing, the Upanishad of the Hindu describes it both as: "Not this," "Not this," meaning thereby that it is where speech and the mind cannot reach, and at the same time says that all that can be said of it is that: "It is." The Trinitarianism of Hegel is moreover the Trinitarianism of the Upanishads. The *Idee* of Hegel, which is unconditioned abstraction, is the Brahma of the Hindu. The *Idee Andersseyn* of the German philosopher, the conditioned reality, is the Iswara of the Hindu. His "Negation of negation" is the Hindu's ultimate identity of Iswara and Brahma. When the Upanishad says that all this was *Sat*, existence, before the evolution of the Universe, it gave expression to what Hegel called God the Father was before the world, and when the Upanishad says that that which is *Sat* can only produce a reality, it did not that say anything different from Hegel's own account of Creation. Thus the doctrine of emanation and absorption which is being but faintly re-echoed in modern Europe was asserted, and asserted with great force by the philosophers of India, at a time when thought was but in its infancy in the West.

* Caird's *Philosophy of Religion*, pp. 322-323.

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How such a conception of the Deity can lead to gross fetishism as its logical result passes comprehension. Did the authors of this creed when they said that Brahma was in all things, ignore the differences of things and persons for all times and circumstances?

Fetishism, or as is now held by many modern thinkers in India, even a polytheistic nature worship, was not the religion of the Vedas. The latter is, however, a very debatable point; and I would not express my opinion upon it but would appeal to the Vedas themselves as to what they really teach. The Isa Vasya Upanishad, which is a Sanhita of a Veda, teaches that whatever exists in this world is to be enveloped by the thought of God. That is to say, whatever exists is from and because of God, and that those who do not realize this truth are the slayers of their souls. (Isa Vasya Upanishad I and 3). The Upanishad then describes God as the Supreme Ruler of the Universe, the All-pervading, All-wise, bright, above all beings, self-existent, without a body, without muscles, pure, untainted by sin, moving and yet not moving, far and yet near, within all and out of all. (Verses 5 and 8). The other Upanishads of the Vedas are clearer still. Speaking of "Him whose name is Great Glory," the Kena Upanishad says:—

"That which is not expressed by speech, but by whose power speech expresses itself; that which the mind cannot grasp, but by whose power it grasps other objects; that which the eye cannot see, or the ear hear, or the breath breathe, but by whose light the eye, the ear and the breath see, hear or breathe; that alone know as Brahma, not that which people here adore. The wise who have come to know the universal Self in all things become immortal when they have departed from this world." *

Manu also says: "Some call Him Agni (the god of fire), some Manu, some Prajapati (the Lord of Creation, some Indra (the god of rain), some Prana (the breath) others the Eternal and the Omnipresent Lord. He creates all beings by five

*_Kena Upanishad_, Ch. I., Verses 5-9; and Ch. II., Verse 5.

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elements; and birth, growth and death are all His gifts. He makes the wheel of the Universe revolve." *

Says also Krishna in the Bhagvad Gita: The foolish associate Me the unmanifest, with Name and Form, not knowing my supreme nature, than which nothing is higher.†

The Maha Ramayana, another great work of Hindu Pantheistic philosophy, is even more indignant in this respect. There the sage Vashishtha once asked Siva as to who should be worshipped as the true God, and Siva replied: "Neither is Vishnu, God; nor is Brahma, God; nor am I, God; nor is Indra (the god of rain); Vayu (the wind god); Agni (the god of fire); Surya (the sun); Chandrama (the moon); a Brahmin; a Kshatriya; this body; its faculties; the mind; wealth; money, God; nor art thou God. God is not made or created by any body. He is the Creator of all; without beginning or end, infinite, eternal, devoid of form or shape, Himself all Light, all Intelligence. All other Intelligences proceed from him. He is One without a second. How can creatures made by Him be God? He is to be worshipped, not by flowers or incense but, by knowledge of His attributes, by righteousness, by serenity of mind, by control over the senses and desires. The worship of idols made of stone or brass is no worship of God. Why should one who has access to Mandara (a heavenly bower) care for a forest of brambles? Those who worship the Supreme Being, worship no one else. To them the worship of other gods is as child's play." ‡

The argument that the Pantheism of the Vedas leads to fetishism as its natural result is therefore unsupported by the original and the recognised sources of the Hindu religion. Nor is there any sanction in the Vedas or the Upanishads for the "unbridled licence or the grossest impurities that are perpetrated in the name of religion." All throughout those best and the most reliable religious books of the Hindus, the control of the senses and passions and desires, the living of a life of purity, are enjoined to be the first and foremost duty of all whether

* *Manu* Ch. XII., Verses, 123-124. † *Bhagvad Gita* Ch. VII., Verse 24.
‡ *Maha Ramayana* Book VI., Ch. 29, Verse 97 *et seq.*

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priests or laymen, whether living in the family or the cloister. And many are the parables and the similes employed to illustrate these truths. At one time we are told that the Soul "is the master, the body the chariot, intellect or reason the charioteer, the mind the reins, the senses the horses and the objects of senses, the road over which they move. The soul is considered the enjoyer when it is associated with the body, the senses and the mind. Whoever is unwise with reins unapplied, has his senses out of control like the vicious horses of a charioteer. But he who is wise with his mind applied has his senses under control like the good horses of a charioteer. Whoever is unwise, unmindful, always impure, does not gain that goal (the highest goal of man, the union of the Individual with the Supreme Soul), but descends to this world. But whosoever is wise, and the reins of whose mind are well applied, attains the goal from which there is no return. The man whose intellect is the wise charioteer, whose mind is under control, attains the goal—the highest place of Vishnu."*

Theft, robbery, murder, unbridled indulgence of the passions, fraud, or those refined ways of extorting money which we see in other countries, are all denounced by Hinduism in a manner too plain to be mistaken; and passages, which say that he, who has lost all sense of egotism, is guilty of no sin even if he destroys the three worlds, mean that for one who has lost all sense of individuality, who has so far identified himself with the universal life as to merge the self of the body with its passions and desires, into the universal side of his nature, there is no sin if by any accidental act he causes death to another. But for by far the great majority of human beings' individuality, the lower self as limited by the body, its desires and its frailties, is too powerful to allow of their merging it in a universal life, therefore every one cannot escape the consequences of his acts by a verbal utterance of sayings like the above.

In short, the moral life of which Mr. Caird speaks, *viz.*, the transformation of the lower into the higher life, of the

* *Kata Upanishad* III., 4 to 9.

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absolute merging of the individual into the universal life, the transmuting of desires and impulses into a higher and a richer unity, is all throughout Hinduism regarded as the only step towards true *gyana*, the only means of salvation, or *moksha*. An ordinary student, who has completed his studies, gets from his master advice regarding his duties as a householder in words which any religious book may be proud of. Says the teacher: "Say what is true! Do thy duty! Do not neglect the study of the Veda! After having brought to thy teacher his proper reward, do not cut off the line of children! Do not swerve from truth! Do not swerve from duty! Do not neglect what is useful! Do not neglect greatness! Do not neglect the learning and teaching of the Veda! Do not neglect (sacrificial) works due to the Gods and Fathers! Let thy mother be to the like unto a god! Let thy teacher be to thee like unto a god! Let thy guest be to thee like unto a god! Whatever actions are blameless, those should be regarded, not others. Whatever good works have been performed by us, these should be observed by thee, not others.

"And if there are some Brahmans better than we they should be comforted by thee, by giving them a seat. Whatever is given should be given with faith, not without faith, with joy, with modesty, with fear, with kindness. If there should be any doubt in thy mind with regard to any sacred act or with regard to conduct, *in* that case conduct theyself as Brahmans who possess good judgment conduct themselves therein, whether they be appointed or not, as long as they are not too severe, but devoted to duty. And with regard to things that have been spoken against, as Brahmans who possess good judgment conduct themselves therein, whether they be appointed or not as long as they are not too severe, but devoted to duty. Thus conduct thyself."*

The True Teachings of the Bhagvad Gita.

It is this unselfish love of duty for the sake of duty that to the Hindu is the best possible preparation for knowledge which leads to *moksha* (salvation). The *Bhagvad Gita*, that great authority on Hindu religion, inculcates no other

* *Taitreya Upanishad* 1-10, Verses 1 to 4.

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lesson; and in order to show the real character of its teachings I crave the reader's leave to present them in as small a compass as possible. The Pandava hero Arjuna, seeing his kinsmen arrayed in battle on both sides, naturally feels a repugnance to fight them, preferring a life of beggary to a kingdom won by the slaughter of his kindred. He appeals to Krishna, who was acting as his charioteer, for advice, and Krishna, in a dialogue which stands unrivalled for its beauty, force and depth of feeling in the whole of the religious literature of the world, tells him to do his duty leaving its consequences to God. He points out that the soul of man is immortal, that it is free from death, decrepitude and decay; is one unborn, undying, permanent and everlasting, and that it is the body alone which is destroyed. He then proves to Arjuna the great advantage of the disinterested performance of duty, saying: "Thy sphere is action, not regard for fruit of action. Do not be one whose motive for duty is its reward. Let not thyself be attached to inaction. Make thine acts thy piety, casting off all attachment and contemning gain and merit. The wise casting aside the fruit of action are released from bonds of birth and death and attain to * the highest state of bliss. One does not attain to salvation by neglecting action, nor by renouncing it does he obtain bliss. No one can for a moment be without action, all do what their nature compels them to do. He who, suppressing all instruments of flesh, sits thinking upon objects of senses, is a fool and a hypocrite. But he, who has his senses under control does his duty, is truly honourable. Do thy allotted task, for action is superior to idleness; even the functions of the body require action for their proper performance. The man of the world who eats the food given to him by the gods without discharging his duty to them is a thief. Therefore do thy duty unselfishly; by so acting one obtains supreme happiness. By work alone did Janaka and others attain blessedness. The bonds of society also require to be preserved by performance of duty. What the wise do, the others choose; what their

* *Bhagvad Gita* II-47. 48, 51.

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leaders do, the multitude adopt. For me there is nothing to wish for in the three worlds, nothing to attain and yet I engage in action. If I were remiss in the performance of my duty and did not do it diligently, because people follow my path, they shall be destroyed and I shall be the cause of their ruin. The fool acts by attaching himself to the fruit of his work. Let the wise act by not attaching himself to such fruit, and only from a desire to preserve the bonds of society. Let the wise not disturb the minds of the vulgar who are attached to fruits of action, but himself doing his duty, let him make others follow him. Discharging all thy duties for My (the Lord's) sake with a mind fixed upon Me, satisfied and serene, fight. One's duty, even if it is without virtue or does not seem good, is better than another's work, even though it may seem to be good. To die in the performance of one's duty is good; to follow others' work leads to misery."*

He is truly wise whose acts are done without desire of reward. He who is satisfied with what comes to him, who is undisturbed by gain or loss, is not affected by action even though he does it. All actions of him who acts without attachment for the sake of the Lord, are as if it were no action, they do not make him sinful or meritorious. Just as fire consumeth fuel, so does knowledge consume action. This knowledge is acquired by him who is full of faith, has his senses under control and does his duty for the sake of duty. The man of faith who has acquired it sees all things in himself, his own Atma, as in Me. There is nothing superior to this knowledge; and it the person who seeks it, by the performance of his duty for my sake, acquires it in time.† The paths of knowledge and duty are not different paths leading to different results, but two paths leading to the same goal. The wise does not think he is doing any thing for himself. He does it for the Lord; and is therefore not affected by it as a lotus leaf remains untouched by water although it always floats over it. The wise attains to supreme bliss by giving up the fruit of action. The fool attached to such fruit is bound by action.‡

*_Bhagvad Gita_, III-4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 12, 19, to 26, 30, 35. † IV-19-20, 26, 37, 38, 39. ‡ V-5, 10, 12.

The true Sanyasi and the true Yogi, the true renouncer of the world and the true devotee, is he who does his appointed duty without regard for its fruit, and not the man who has given up the household fire or his task in the world.* It is not proper to give up one's duty; to renounce it from delusion is sinful. He who renounces his duty because it requires bodily effort does not truly renounce it. On the contrary, true renunciation is the performance of one's duty without attachment to it or its fruit. No one can relinquish action while his body lasts; he is the true renouncer who acts for the sake of duty. How one who follows his duty attains to the highest bliss, listen!

Him from Whom all beings proceed, Him by Whom all this is pervaded; worshipping Him by the performance of one's own duty, one obtaineth perfection. Better is one's own duty though performed imperfectly than another's duty well-performed. Performing the duty prescribed by (one's own) nature, he incurreth no sin. One must not abandon, O! son of Kunti, his appointed duty though tainted with evil, for all actions are in the beginning enveloped by evil like fire by smoke. He, whose mind is unattached every where, he who hath subdued himself, and whose desires have departed, obtaineth through Renunciation, the supreme perfection of freedom from work. Learn from me, only in brief, O! son of Kunti, how one, having obtained (this kind of) perfection, attaineth to Brahma which is the supreme end of knowledge. Endowed with a pure mind, and restraining himself by constancy, renouncing all objects of sense, and casting off affection and aversion, he who resideth in a lonely place, eateth little, and restraineth speech, body, and mind, who is ever intent on meditation and abstraction, who is free from attachment; who, having abandoned egotism, violence, pride, lust, wrath, and (all) surroundings, hath freed himself from selfishness and is tranquil (in mind), he becometh fit for union with Brahma. Becoming one with Brahma, tranquil in spirit, (such a) one grieveth not, desireth not; alike to all beings, he obtaineth the highest devotion to Me. By (that) devotion he truly under-

*_Bhagvad Gita_, VI., 1.

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standeth Me, What I am, and Who I am; then, understanding Me truly, he entereth into Me forthwith. Even performing all actions at all times, having refuge in Me, he obtaineth, through my favour, the eternal and the imperishable goal. Dedicating in thy heart all actions to Me, being devoted to Me, resorting to meditation, fix thy thoughts constantly on Me. Fixing thy thoughts upon Me, thou shalt surmount all difficulties through my grace. But if from self-conceit thou wilt not listen, thou wilt (then) utterly perish.*

The key-note of the whole lies in the last few verses: and no reader of the poem can say that it sanctions fatalistic immorality, or gross polytheism, or unbridled licence, or sensuousness, or fails to take into account distinctions in the finite. What it teaches is that in order to be happy one must control his senses and passions, place his trust in God, have faith in Him alone, worship Him and bow unto Him alone; and it promises for him the final goal if he does so. As it says in another place, it is difficult for ordinary mortals to know the unconditioned; and it tells them that if they only do their duty for the sake of God, place their trust in Him, and gradually acquire the habit of concentrating their minds upon Him alone, always acting in the world unselfishly and from pure motives, they shall acquire the highest end of man, release from birth and bondage. This can not be done in one birth but in several; and if we have faith and adopt the right means of doing it, the reward shall be certain. According to it happiness does not lie in external things but in ourselves. If we but place our centre of gravity in ourselves, and not allow it to be changed by every wish and whim, we shall be happy. There are many followers of this religion even in modern India, and they afford the most practical contradiction to the charges of fetishism, licentiousness, and shrinking from duty, that are brought against it by foreigners.

The Hindu Shastras regard death to be nothing more than anger, covetousness and unrighteousness. In the

* *Bhagvad Gita*, Chap. XVIII., verses 5 to 9 and 45 to 58.

Mahabharata, King Drishtarashtra asks Sanat Kumar, a Brahmin sage, who held the opinion that there was no such thing as death, to explain why he held that opinion, and Sanat Kumar replies: "I say that ignorance is death; and so the absence of ignorance, Knowledge is immortality. Swayed by pride men always walk in unrighteous ways. None amongst them succeeds in attaining to his real nature. Their understandings, clouded and themselves swayed by passion, they cast off their bodies and repeatedly fall into hell. They are always followed by their passions and their senses. It is from this that ignorance receives the name of death* In the Chandogya Upanishad the same idea is brought forward by the striking parable of a man having been brought away from his native country—Kandhar, by a band of robbers and left blindfolded in a dense jungle full of dangers. Here, he wanders about helplessly crying for help till some wayfarer out of compassion loosens his bonds and points him out the way to his native country, which he reaches by following the guide's advice. The application of the parable, as given by Sankaracharya is as follows:—

"Our real home is True (Sat), the Self of the world. The forest into which we are driven is the body, made of the three elements, fire, water, and earth, consisting of blood, flesh, bones, etc., and liable to cold, heat and many other evils. The bands with which our eyes are covered are our desires for many things, real or unreal, such as wife, children, cattle, etc., while the robbers by whom we are driven into the forest, are our good and evil deeds. Then we cry and say, "I am the son of So-and-So, these are my relatives, I am happy, I am miserable, I am foolish, I am wise, I am just, I am born, I am dead, I am old, I am wretched, my son is dead, my fortune is gone, I am undone; how shall I live? where shall I go? who will save me? These and hundreds and thousands of other evils are the bands which blind us. Then, owing to some supererogatory good works

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**Mahabharata Udyoga Parva*, Chap. 41.

we may have done, we suddenly meet a man who knows the Self of Brahman, whose own bonds have been broken, who takes pity on us and shows us the way to see the evil which attaches to all that we love in this world. We then withdraw ourselves from all worldly pleasures. We learn that we are not mere creatures of the world, the son of So-and-So, etc., but that we are that which is the True (Sat). The bands of our ignorance and blindness are removed; and, like the man of Gandhâra, we arrive at our own home, the Self, or the True. Then we are happy and blessed."*

This is the true religion of the Hindus and not what it has now been understood to be. It does not, as has been supposed, teach an extirpation of desires and impulses, but a turning of the current from a life of selfishness into one of unselfishness, of pure love, of "the elevation of the animal tendencies into essential unity with the universal aspiration and ends of reason." For him who sees all things in the Supreme Self alone and the Supreme Self in all things, there is no sorrow nor delusion. He who sees all things in himself and himself in all things, he does not wish to conceal himself from anything.† The wise see the same Atma in a Brahmin, full of learning, a cow, an elephant, a dog and an outcaste."‡ All these passages do not mean that the vilest and the lowest are for the wise without distinction of name and form, but that the rising of the higher life in him has destroyed all discord and antagonism. When a believer in this religion says, "all this is Brahma," he does not destroy distinction of name and form but rises above them. He believes the world to exist of, and because of, its Creator; and, so believing is conscious of a Self which transcends not only particular, but all desires and impulses. It is therefore the more to be regretted that a writer like Mr. Caird, whose book from which I have so largely quoted, is one of the best and the clearest expositions of religious philosophy of modern Europe, should have fallen into the common

* Max Müller *Translation of the Upanishads* Vol. I, pp. 105-106.

† *Isa Upanishad* 6-7.

‡ *Gita* v., 18.

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error of supposing Hinduism to be a religion that countenances fetishism or unbridled licence. And because the impression is so wide spread, I have thought it proper to correct it in the best way I can.

As properly understood, and as originally propounded, Hinduism is not at all hostile to progress among its followers, nor does it retard their national evolution. Had it been so it, or Budhism which is nothing more than Hinduism, would not have received the attention it has so received from men of thought in Europe. The true religion of India stands upon the firm basis of demonstrated truth; and the time is not far distant when it will be even a larger factor in influencing thought than it has been hitherto. So much can not, however, be said of the way in which it is now practised by the mass of the Indian people. As practised by them it certainly retards progress; and shall have to be modified before it can claim to the religion of a civilized nation.

Much of its present form and dogma, much of its present superstition, much of its present respect for status and hereditary castes, many of its practices and customs, shall have to be largely reformed and brought nearer to the teachings of its truer exponents before it can keep its hold upon the minds of a rising people. That signs of this are not wanting in India is patent to every one. Only the tide must be made to roll a little more forcibly than it is doing at present.

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CHAPTER X.

London Suburbs—The Country: British Manufactures—Wheat Trade, etc.

The Crystal Palace.

From smoky and sooty London it a great change to go out in its suburbs, and my first care was to pay a visit to the *Crystal Palace*. This building, even if London were blotted out from off the face of the earth leaving nothing behind, still rewards the visitor for his trouble. It is reached in about half an hour from Victoria Station; and the first impression, on emerging from the Low-level railway, is as if one were being carried into dream-land. Its name does not at all suggest the various objects of interest it contains. It is constructed of glass and iron and wood. It is 1,600 feet long, 380 feet wide and at the centre 200 feet high. Its park and gardens cover some 200 acres and cost more than a million sterling. Johnson called it a huge glass cage, but I consider it to be one of the wonders of London. The best specimens of art are here seen with the best specimens of natural scenery. The various Courts—Moorish, Byzantine, German, Mediæval,—furnish you with much instructive information on the various stages through which architecture has passed. Their representation of Moorish houses and palaces is wonderfully exact. Up in the galleries, along with the busts of poets and painters, are suggestive paintings of scenes from both Eastern and Western history. Its fountains, comprising more than 10,000 jets, are simply wonderful; while its palaces and tropical birds and tropical trees remind you of the East. Its grounds are even more attractive; slopes, lawns and flower beds, which, when lighted with thousands of coloured lamps in the nights, take you to some Arcadia. On special occasions they treat you to splendid fire-works; not such as you see in this country, where they could not produce the Falls of Niagra, or portraits of royal personages. The Crystal Palace is a private concern; and, because it is visited by millions of people, it must be a paying one.

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A trip to *Richmond* is even more refreshing. The place is about nine or ten miles from London; and a Sunday afternoon there is always well spent. Its park, with its terrace garden, beautiful walks, and dells full of splendid trees and thousands of birds warbling in the trees; above all, its exquisite landscape extending for miles round, is most charming. Thence to *Kew* Gardens is an easy drive. The gardens are worthy of the public spirit of the British nation. They are interesting alike to the student, the votary of nature, or the lover of pleasure. Every time you go there you see something new. The palm house, 60 feet in height with its large palms and other tropical trees and its tropical heat, reminds you of India, or Australia, or South America. Orchids, roses, evergreens, and ferns meet you everywhere. India is very fully represented, because nature is not so bountiful elsewhere; Malabar teaks, hill deodars, cocoanuts, tamarinds, babuls, chandan, palsa and other Indian trees are here seen in either their natural or dried state. It is useless to attempt to describe the treasures of these gardens. Nothing elsewhere comes up to them. The collection is the richest in the world. Our Indian Botanical Gardens of Saharanpore, or Guneshkhind in Poona, or Garden-reach near Calcutta, are nothing as compared to Kew. We have yet to develop the love of the beautiful amongst our people. Our gardeners, both masters and servants, go in more for quantity than quality. Unless English tastes are imitated, gourds, plantains, mangoes, oranges, roses, jessamines, marigolds, a high wall round, a fountain, a water-fall, and a pillared pleasure house, complete the treasures of a native garden. It is only when people affect to be florists that ferns, orchids, crotons, roses, beautiful lawns, fine walks, come to be prized. Yet if Valmiki and Kalidas are to be believed and their description of the beauties of Chitrakoot, the dale and forest of Dandak, or the advent of Spring are anything, the Hindus have always been too great lovers of nature to have neglected good gardening. I should advise our young men to take up this healthy pursuit in preference to desk work. The

Richmond and Kew.

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Superintendent of any Government botanical garden would certainly prefer undergraduate pupils to the ordinary *mali* boys.

Hampton Court.

After Richmond and Kew is *Hampton Court*, a place easily reached from Waterloo Station. It is about twelve miles from London, and was designed by Cardinal Wolsey who exchanged it for Richmond Palace in order to propitiate his master, Henry VIII. The building, which is of red brick with stone cornices, is not very prepossessing at its entrance, but once you get inside it makes "the day bright and life pleasant." It was opened to the public only during the present reign; and part of it is still used by poor relatives of noble families who hold tenures by special permission of the Crown.

Nature's highest triumphs here challenge competition with the highest achievements of the painter's pencil. Its chestnuts, which are historical; its flowers so delicately arranged; its 100 years old vine, laden with 1,500 bunches each of a pound weight and occupying more than 2,000 square feet of of space, the very air of gladness that one meets all round, would make you unwilling to leave the outside but for the beauties within. Tapestries, historical and mythical; arms, antique and historical furniture, are nothing when compared to the paintings on the walls. The beauties of the Court of Charles II. in their night-growns fastened with a single pin and the "sleepy eye that spake the melting soul," those masterpieces of Lily culminating in the splendid picture of the Countess of Gourmant, are here in all their glory. The place combines the old order with the new; and one could not help recalling to mind the fate of the Cardinal who built it; and yet he, one of England's statesmen, exclaimed: "O how wretched is that man who hangs on princes' favours!"

I wonder what impression would a picture of the Court of Jehangir by an Indian Lily leave on the mind of an Englishman of the present day. Then, why is the East only accused of debauchery? Unfortunately we have had too many revolutions and too little love or veneration for relics to preserve our Hampton Courts, except by association. Hampton Court

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has a maze where people lose themselves. Pope's Villa is close by. One could not leave this place without wishing to return as often as he could.

The Country; Leamington and Warwick.

Having done London more or less in the time at his disposal, the stranger naturally feels anxious to get out of its round of pleasures, its balls, dinners, tea-parties, its life of bustle and excitement, and is glad to receive invitations from friends in the country. In Spring in England the *Country* looks its best. The first places I visited were *Leamington* and *Warwick*. The former is noted both for its natural scenery as well as for its medicinal springs. Lovers of the picturesque, as well as those with deranged livers, visit it in large numbers. Here one gets some idea of what English scenery is like. Foot-paths across lovely fields meet him on every turn. "The high roads are made pleasant to the traveller by a border of trees, and often afford him the hospitality of a wayside bench beneath a comfortable shade. The foot-paths go wandering away from stile to stile, along hedges and across broad fields and through wooded parks, leading to little hamlets of thatched cottages, ancient solitary farm-houses, picturesque old mills, streamlets, pools and all those quiet, unexpected, yet strangely familiar features of English scenery that Tennyson shows us in his *Idylls* and *Eclogues*. These bye-paths admit the wayfarer into the very heart of rural life and yet do not burden him with a sense of intrusiveness." *

At Leamington I was the guest of Mr. Chalmers, once of the Indian Civil Service and now County Court Judge of Birmingham, a man of extremely refined tastes and much culture, well known to the legal profession for his work on Bills of Exchange. He lives at Leamington and goes to Birmingham every morning. His house is typical of that of an English country gentleman, neat and orderly, yet full of every comfort. My host appeared to be a great but discriminate reader, and his guest was not left without the company

* *Guide to Leamington.*

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of good books. His first care was to show me round the town; for which I did not care much. He then accompanied me to Warwick—a specimen of an English town of the good old feudal times. Its walls and gates and narrow streets remind you of an Indian town before the advent of present civilization. From the little Avon you get a beautiful view of the historical castle in front; for Warwick would be nothing without its castle. I am told "it is the most splendid baronial residence in England. Its foundations are laid by tradition in ages which are lost in the mists of antiquity, while the rough fact remains that it arose into prominent notice at the time of the Conquest." Close by is Gury's Cliff, which is even more charming than all the charming spots of this pleasant locality.

These places reminded me of Cowper's well-known lines:—

"Ah blest seclusion from a jarring world,
Which he thus occupies enjoys! Retreat
Can not indeed to guilty man restore
Lost innocence, cancel follies past.
But it has peace and much secures the mind
From all assaults of evil, proving still
A faithful barrier, not overleaped with ease
By vicious custom raging uncontrolled
Abroad and desolating public life."

The impression left by both these places, as well as other English scenery which I visited, was not so much of the latter's grandeur, for India affords scenery as grand; but in the words of Washington Irving, of its being "associated with ideas of order, of quite, of sober well-established principles, hoary usage and reverend custom, of art trying to conquer nature," and the inclemency of the English climate. Nothing but persistent human effort could have produced those lawns of velvet green, those groves of trees with their luxuriant foliage, those trim hedges, those high railed fields with their dark green but not bright plants, those neat and exquisite flower-beds and grassplots which everywhere embellish the country and the cottage in England.

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The Indian and the English Systems of Agriculture Compared.

In Europe nature is not so bountiful as she is in India; and, but for their hot-houses, their means of employing artificial heat, their growing vegetables under glass, their scientific farming, they could never produce anything. Instead of English fields being separated by small ridges, as in India, they are separated by high railings with stiles for people to pass. The principal crop that I saw in England after the vegetables was that of hops. The appearance of the fields was less cheerful than that of those of India, and the whole seemed to partake more of art than of nature. In India it is very different. Here, nature mostly does for man what his own labour does elsewhere; and though the Indian ryot is yet outside the pale of modern improvements in agriculture, and promises to remain so for some time to come, yet nature still provides for his wants. Here his poverty and misery are not so much due to his imperfect system of agriculture as to the absence of other sources of industry. India is an agricultural and not a manufacturing country. The cultivation of the soil forms the chief occupation of more than two-thirds of its adult male population, while the number of persons who indirectly depend upon agriculture is also very great. But of late years so great has been the pressure on the soil that in one province alone one square mile of tillage has to support the enormous number of 808 people. There are no manufacturing industries on such a large scale as in European countries; and the improvement of Indian agriculture by means of model farms worked according to European methods, improved implements of husbandry in the shape of imported ploughs, water lifts, sugar mills, etc., are held up by many as the great panacea for the ryots' troubles. But all these have failed, because the Indian agriculturist is too poor to indulge in these expensive appliances, and the Indian capitalist does not generally care to invest his money in such undertakings. On the other hand, the best European experts have now admitted that the native system of agriculture and the native implements of husbandry, though of the rudest kind, are not without their advantages. The native's patience

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and perseverance, moreover, compensate for the inefficiency of his tools or the primitive character of his field operations. And I have the authority of Sir George Birdwood for saying that the steam farming of England or America, if applied to India, would neither increase the productiveness of the soil, nor extend its area of production, nor act beneficially in uprooting that co-operative rural life which is the basis of Hindu civilization from time immemorial. The failure of efforts, hitherto made for the improvement of native agriculture, has been due to a want of careful study on the part of reformers of the methods employed by the Indian peasants. The Indian ryot seems to know his business better than many an amateur agricultural reformer, and such an authority on the subject as Professor Wallace of Edinburgh has given the same verdict. The native system of agriculture is, however, far from perfect; and the Indian agriculturist does not certainly know as much of agriculture as one who combines with a practical knowledge of European farming a practical knowledge of Indian agriculture. The climate and general surroundings of India are vastly different from those of European countries. But here nature saves the agriculturist's work in many respects. For instance, all those artificial methods of producing heat, so largely employed in Europe, are not necessary in India. The great secret of reform does not therefore lie in the wholesale importation of foreign methods, but in the greater employment of the capital of the native capitalist in such improvements of native agriculture and native breeds of cattle as are suited to India.

Birmingham.

From Leamington I went to *Birmingham* one of the greatest, perhaps the greatest, manufacturing town in England. Who has not heard of this town? as a newspaper correspondent said at the time. I, for my part, was most anxious to visit some of its principal factories. Mr. Mathews, the Home Secretary, had kindly sent me introductions to His Worship the Mayor and Sir James Sawyer, a leading doctor of Birmingham, and I could not be in better hands. The place has, ever since the 16th century, been a place of "smiths and cutlers

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echoing with the noise of anvils" and frequented by men of invention and industry. It was raining when I reached it, but the Mayor immediately arranged for my seeing some of the best factories. Before doing so I thought it proper to visit an institution, than which, to a student of English literature, nothing could be more interesting, the Shakespearian Library at the capital of the Midlands. This library now contains 7,600 volumes of the works of Shakespeare, the earliest edition of any of them being that of Henry V., published in 1608, in the life time of the poet. Their first volume of collected works dates however from 1623, and it was purchased for 250 guineas. The library has editions of Shakespeare's plays in almost every European language, even in Hebrew and Icelandic. The German and the French editions however predominate, the former being 86, the latter 26. Why does not India, where Shakespeare is now-a-days as much read and admired as Kalidasa or Valmiki, send her quota? This library also contains the Byron, the Cervantes, and the Milton collections. The Shakespearian library is however the most interesting of all; and I was told that students, not only from the various intellectual centres of England, but also from Berlin and other places in Europe visit it in large numbers.

The public library of Birmingham, which is also in the same building as the Shakespearian library, has a very extensive collection of books of practical value in science and art. It contains books for all classes of readers, even for the blind; and so popular a means of diffusing happiness it is thought to be, that at ward elections the question is asked of councillors as a test of political fitness, "Will you vote for a free library and news-room for this ward?"

From the library the Mayor was kind enough to accompany me to the Art Gallery, built by the Corporation at a cost of £400,000. Here for the first time I saw some most exquisite engravings, depicting with great minuteness and faithfulness the various incidents in the Queen's life. Thence I was taken to the rooms of the Corporation itself. The Town-hall, which is not a noble building from outside, is full

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of rich design and splendid architecture within. Here Chamberlain, Mathews and other politicians made their *debût*. The Corporation of the place consists of some sixty-four members, who are elected after much competition, and who transact business much like our Indian municipalities, though, of course, in a more civilized way. The Mayor was all kindness and civility. He is a lawyer; and has been in office for some years. The County Court, of which I have already spoken, is presided over by Mr. Chalmers; where, with so many cases to decide, the work was done with an amount of regularity and care that was truly surprising.

Birmingham Factories.

I shall now attempt to give my impressions of some of the *Factories* I visited in this centre of industry. It would be foolish to attempt a description of what they make in Birmingham. From a needle to an anchor—every thing is made there. The largest number of factories is however for articles of jewellery; watches and chains and brooches having as many as 1,200. On the other hand those which produce most work in enormous quantities are those in which iron or brass or tin is used. For instance they make some 20,000 bedsteads during the week, turn out 3,500 tons of wrought iron during the year, manufacture 300 steam engines during the month, employ 66,000 people in the watch trade turning about 80,000 silver watch-cases during the year, besides employing an army of stone cutters, die sinkers, etc! There are single firms which use gems of £20,000 a year in their manufactures. The quantity of locks made is about 25,000 dozen per week, while needles and fish hooks reach the enormous number of fifty millions. 50,000 tons of iron are employed in chains, cables and armoury. In fact, so enormous is the raw material employed, so great the quantity produced and so gigantic the capital invested, that it is difficult for even European countries, with all their enormous facilities for manufacturing industries, to compete with Birmingham in some of its manufactures.

The first factory I visited was Elkingtons', the Electro-platers. Their show-rooms contain wonderful plates and

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shieldes, describing with great exactness scenes from Shakespeare's Merchant of Venice, Æsop's Fables, Scott's Ivanhoe, Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress, etc.; and I was much instructed with the way in which Portia and Shylock and the Duke in the Court, were represented on a shield. They seemed to make it in this way: A drawing of the scene is transferred to a mould on which gutta percha is thrown to take the impression. The gutta percha impression is then given a powerful electric bath, which deposits metal upon it, and the gutta percha is scraped and the plate is ready to be gilted and polished. The process of stamping is even more unique. A dish cover, which used to need hundreds of blows, in now bent into shape by only six, and that too in the twentieth part of the time formerly occupied. Then they have a process of tracing decorations which is very striking. A tracing of birds, flowers, etc., is made upon the surface required to be enamelled and wire is bent over it by the hand and soldered. The colours are then put into the different divisions of the wire and the whole is heated to make them fix, and then polished. The firm employs some 500 men; and is the oldest one of its kind in Birmingham. Joseph Gilliot's Pen-making Factory, where I next went, was even more interesting. Such a simple thing as a pen is the result of several distinct processes. A sheet of steel is rolled and cut out. The steel is then slit on the sides, pierced, annealed, marked, embossed, raised, hardened, tempered, cleaned, ground straight and cross, slit, coloured and varnished, before the little piece is ready for the market. The work is done by different kinds of presses, mostly worked by the hand. A machine called a press tool is employed. It consists of a block of steel with an aperture of the desired shape and a punch of a corresponding one. The metal is placed in the aperture and the punch forced down, and it cuts the metal at one blow. The whole process is very rapid. The operatives are principally women. The firm employs some five hundred people, and can produce something like a thousand gross of pens per day. The chief improvements in pens of late have been in producing points turned up or down, thickened or

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rounded, with the object of making the pen glide more smoothly on paper. Some idea of the trade may be formed from the fact that it employs more than four thousand girls, women, labouring men, engineers, etc., consumes weekly some twenty tons of metal, half of which appears in the article, and produces 1,60,000 gross of pens in the week. The variety of pens made is seen from the fact that Joseph Gilliot alone makes one thousand and sixty kinds of pens! The finer ones are for foreign markets, the thicker ones for home consumption. No other country, not even the United States with all their Yankee ingenuity, produces so many pens.

The pin and needle trade is another interesting one in Birmingham. I visited Taylor's factory. The metal is rolled by steam and wire is made by the same process. This wire is then wound off a reel at one end of an automatic machine, and straightened, cut and headed, and comes out a finished article at the other end. The quantity of needles and pins thus produced is something like fifty millions per week! They not only produce pins by machinery, but count, put them in paper, and make pyramid pin cushions also, by the same process. The firm has also some beautiful processes for colour-painting; and they explained to me how those beautiful prints, that we get so cheap here, were produced in such large quantities.

For metalic bedsteads and cast-iron and brass chandeliers, I paid a visit to Winfields' factory. Their processes of metal casting and tube drawing, as well as of embossing and ornamenting plain tubes, through a die composed of wheels and pulleys which turn and impress on the tube the pattern they carry on their surface, were all very interesting; and I was told that some twenty thousand bedsteads of iron and brass are now produced in and around Birmingham, from a simple stump bed for five or six shillings to the most elaborately constructed canopy for £200. Their process of glass painting, as explained to me, is also very wonderful. The required design is traced upon a piece of glass in the required colour. The whole is then subjected to a strong heat to make the colours fix; and the various pieces are then joined together

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to produce those beautiful glass windows, one so much admires in English churches.

Instead of soldering pieces together, beating and bending them by mallets, they employ enormous machinery for producing tin dinner and tea sets, lamps, candle-sticks, pyramid lights; and a stamp at Hopkins brings a pressure of some 30 tons upon a flat piece of iron or brass to bend it into a dish cover.

In glass-ware Osler's name is known as much in India as it is in England, and I did not fail to visit their factory in Birmingham. Etching on glass is done by machinery; and mechanical methods are now employed in producing highly artistic designs. A pattern is traced by a diamond pen, and the pieces cut out and edged by being made to pass against different kinds of wheels. Leaves and flowers and sprays are produced in the same manner; and they are skilful enough to produce extremely correct designs without making the least mistake.

Another remarkable process that I saw was that of threading, *i. e.*, surrounding and partially covering a body of glass of one colour with a continuous thread of glass of another colour, thus producing most wonderful effects. Imitations of Bohemian glass, so well known in Europe for its brilliant colours, have also been successfully made, while Portland vases are also being produced in some quantities.

The time at my disposal being limited, I could not see more factories; but amused myself for the time by going about the place. The town is neither large nor very clean. Every where it smells of iron, copper and tin. The class of people most frequently seen in the streets are the workmen. I was told that they had a system of public baths for these people. I tried one of these baths for the sake of curiosity. The baths are mostly built of wood, in the same way as baths at some of our Indian railway stations are. The charge for a first-class bath is one shilling, for a second-class sixpence, and for a wash one penny; which, considering that the working classes do not get these things in England for nothing, as they do in India, is a great boon for them.

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But let us go further north to visit *Manchester*, Liverpool, and a few places in the land of Scott and Burns. Passing through that lovely scenery of the hills of Derbyshire I got to Manchester in about four hours from London. The place is as dirty as other manufacturing towns of England. Its streets, though named after those of London streets, Piccadilly, Pall Mall, etc., present a strange contrast to their London namesakes. Early in the morning carts are seen bringing huge rolls or bales of cloth from the mills in the country to their agents' warehouses in the town. These Manchester warehouses are enormous concerns—that of Barber Brothers could deliver as many as six hundred bales of cloth, containing a hundred pieces each, per day during the ordinary season. The manufacturer sends the cloth *en masse* to the warehouse where it is measured, folded, labelled, pressed and prepared for the market, all by machinery. A large portion of the cloth manufactured in these Manchester mills is for the Eastern markets. For instance, in Barber Brothers' warehouse the cloth that was being prepared for export consisted of dhoties, turkey reds, grey shirtings, etc., etc. So full of warehouses and business places is Manchester that its Town-hall—where, at the time I saw it the Mayor was holding a school prize-distribution for girls—affords a relief to the eye.

Manchester.

I had however not gone to Manchester to see the town, but its cotton factories as well as the exhibition that was being held there. The firm to which I had letters of introduction very kindly sent me to some of the best factories in this place. The first factory that was shown to me was Hoyle's printing works—the most enormous concern of its kind in Manchester. Here I had the privilege of seeing some of the processes of calico printing. In India calicoes are printed from wooden dies; in England they use rollers. The firm has some seven hundred of these rollers, each representing one colour for a pattern, and each weighing some ninety pounds. The pattern is first engraved and enlarged five times upon a zinc plate, from which it is transferred by machinery to the roller, having been reduced to its original size during the process. The varnish

over the roller is then removed; and as many rollers as there are colours in a pattern are fixed to the printing machine, which prints off some seven thousand yards of cloth per hour! The cloth is then steamed, starched, washed, dried, and given the necessary finish—all by machinery.

I then left for Bolton, where I paid a visit to that fine mill of Messrs. Brodhurst and Co. They employ more than two thousand people, and work with several engines, and produce fine cloths, checks, handkerchiefs, etc. There I was shown various samples of cotton, Indian, Egyptian, American, Sea Islands; and they explained to me how Indian cotton, which, being short-stappled, could not be used for fine cloth. All over Lancashire you see nothing but cotton mills. They have something like two thousand five hundred mills, employing as many as five lacs of people, and producing, besides stockings and thread, something like four hundred and eighty five thousand million yards of cotton goods, of which a third is dyed or printed! Their value is something like five millions of pounds; and a writer makes the ingenious calculation, that the bales of cotton utilized in these mills, would, if placed end to end, form an entire rampart round Great Britain; the yarn would encircle the earth more than a million times; the cloth produced would cover a space of one yard for some thing like two and half millions of miles, and the looms if placed side by side would extend from Brighton to John O'Groat's! And yet these Lancashire manufacturers are becoming nervous about the growth of Indian mills which only produce coarse cloth, and labour under many other disadvantages in the shape of importing machinery and skilled labour. It is, however, satisfactory to find that India is gradually regaining her cotton industry; and though Dacca muslins are a thing of the past, yet dhoties, chadders, and jeanes, and other cloths are gradually finding their way from its mills amongst the people. I had some talk with several Manchester manufacturers on what was going on in India, and naturally enough they showed an interest in the country; but what agreeably surprised me was that they were not at all against our people rising in the scale of progress and

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prosperity, though they appeared to be somewhat alarmed at our determination in driving them out of the cloth market. They are now bringing the ocean to Manchester; and I saw in the Exhibition a model of the Manchester Ship Canal and the adjoining country, on a scale of one foot to the mile. The canal commences at Eastham near Liverpool, passing along the Cheshire side of the Mersey estuary to Ellesmere Port, the docks at Weston Point and Runcorn, and thence to Warrington and Manchester, where large docks will be constructed. The canal will be of the same depth as the Suez canal, but much wider, so as to allow two of the largest class of steamers to pass at any part of the canal. It will be thirty-five miles in length; and, near Manchester will take in the whole of the waters of the rivers Irwell and Mersey. It is really a great engineering enterprise, worthy of the resolute, restless energy of John Bull. It is not far from Manchester to Liverpool; and the railways are competing with one another for public patronge, yet the canal would bring Manchester in closer touch with the rest of the trading world. If my visit to these centres of industry impressed me with anything, it was that the right use of capital was reserved, as if it were, for these islanders, and that ours would be a very unfortunate case if we failed to profit by their example.

Thence I went to the Royal Jubilee Exhibition that was being held there at the time, as I was told that I could get there a good idea of the various processes of cotton spinning as well as of other various sorts of machinery in motion and handicrafts, whereby the men and women of England earn their bread. And I was glad I went there, for this was the first show of its kind. Glass engraving, ivory turning, pottery manufacture, mechanical toys, artificial flowers, soaps, sweetmeats, etc., were all shown there in the process of manufacture. The Sunlight Soap Manufacturing Company were giving away to each visitor a piece of soap freshly manufactured. The process for making scientific instruments was very neat and exact; but those for wood decorations, fret work, jewellery-carving, jet jewellery, showed that a

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larger number of tools than are used in India for producing better designs are employed in England. In the manufacture of sweets the process was also somewhat different, and chocolate was used as the basis of a great many of them.

Thence I passed on into the galleries, where, among other pictures, was "The Babylonian Marriage Market" by E. Long. This picture was a very suggestive picture, as the following description of it, taken from the guide book, will show:—"Herodotus records one of their customs, which, whether in jest or earnest, he declares to be the wisest he ever heard of. This was their Wife Auction, by which they managed to find husbands for all the young women. The greatest beauty was put up first, and then knocked down to the highest bidder; then the next in the order of comeliness, and so on to the damsel who was equidistant between beauty and plainness, who was given away gratis. Then the least plain was put up, and knocked down to the gallant who would marry her for the smallest consideration, and so on till even the plainest was got rid of to some cynical worthy, who decidedly preferred lucre to looks. By transferring to the scale of the ill-favoured the prices paid for the fair, beauty was made to endow ugliness, and the rich man's taste was the poor man's gain"—"Herodotus" * (by George C. Lwayne M. A.)

Another remarkable picture was the "Reading of the Will" in Roderick Random by Leslie. The expectant faces of the group when the attorney was reading the Will, their disappointment on finding no legacies left to them, were all painted in a most faithful manner.

Thence I went into the sections where the various processes of weaving and spinning were shown; and I left the exhibition, having learnt more in the short time I was there than I could have done by wandering over a whole tract of the country.

Liverpool.

From Manchester to *Liverpool* is such an easy run that I could not miss this great shipping place of England. The town is much cleaner and brighter than Manchester; and a walk along its

* *Royal Jubilee Guide to Manchester* p. 315.

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landing stage, or a short trip to Seacomb, or Birkenhead, or New Brighton, in one of the many steamers that ply hourly, is good enjoyment for an evening. There is another route to Birkenhead, through the Mersey Tunnel railway. The tunnel is a wonderful piece of engineering. It is four and a half miles long, and thirty feet below the bed of the river, and cost some £250,000; and, what is most curious is that you feel nothing of the suffocation you endure when travelling by the Metropolitan railway in London. So enormous is the river traffic of the Mersey that it carries about twenty-six millions of people backwards and forwards in the year.

Liverpool is the queen of British ports. Some two hundred vessels come and go from here daily. Its docks extend for several miles, and could accommodate something like a thousand ships. There are some forty of these docks, occupying five hundred acres of water space. Some of these date early into the eighteenth century; others, like the Alexandra docks, were only opened in 1881. The most attractive sights in Liverpool are its pier-heads, its marine promenades, and its landing-stages. Here, the scene that presents itself in the evening is most charming. Steamers constantly going and coming to land and take their loads of pleasure seekers, persons going to or coming from Birkenhead, vessels going to all countries of the world, the hurry and excitement of people eager to catch the steamers at St. George's pier, the beautiful view of water from the Prince's Parade, all leave a most pleasing impression upon the visitor. Liverpool is thus of great importance to the prosperity of England from the many natural advantages it possesses from its situation on the mouth of a great commercial river and the great enterprise and capital which have been employed to improve those advantages, have made its harbour the attractive place it is.

Next morning I visited one of those enormous grain warehouses, whose trade has now come to have such a large influence on the economic condition of this country. These warehouses are enormous buildings, consisting of five, six or even seven floors, which it requires a great effort to reach. Some of them can store as much as 30,000 tons of grain.

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The grain is carried from the hold of a ship by means of elevators, which I shall attempt to describe. The engine works a wheel, round which a rope is wound having leather buckets, like those used in Persian wheels in India, attached to it. As the wheel revolves the buckets go into the hold of the ship, filling with great rapidity the grain that is there, and discharging their contents in a huge vessel capable of holding a ton. When the grain has been filled in, it empties itself automatically, and the grain then passes thence through a sieve over long bands of leather in a stream, whose velocity is even more rapid than that of the most rapid stream in the world. The stream carries it off to the floor where it is to be stored and the whole arrangement is not only very neat and ingenious, but by it a ship with a cargo of 3,000 tons of grain could be unloaded in a few hours.

They were unloading a cargo of Indian corn which had come from Russia, and the rapidity with which the grain was carried up, weighed, cleaned and passed on to the floor where it was to be stored, was most wonderful.

The question here suggests itself, whether this enormous export of food grains from India is beneficial to the latter in the face of the present poverty of its population increasing by about thirty-five or thirty-six millions of people every ten years, without any corresponding increase in their means of subsistence. In 1891 sixty-two and a half millions acres of land was under wheat cultivation, thus showing that wheat is gradually replacing other and coarser food grains which form the staple food of the masses. In the same year the quantity exported to European countries reached the enormous figure of seven and a half millions tons, meaning great depletion of food stores, and resulting in a rise of the price of wheat throughout this country and giving rise to serious fears of a calamity in case the periodical monsoons failed. This led people both to attack as well as defend the system of unlimited exports; and it was said by many that increased exports were a positive gain to India, that the mass of its people were well fed and that they only sent out what was not required, for home consumption. The optimists,

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however, forgot the painful fact that official statistics had proved that forty millions of Indian people go through life with only one meal a day, that the increase in the area of wheat cultivation meant a heavy pressure on the cultivator's resources in not having that which will feed him and his family. They did not probably also know that in many villages in Upper India, not only were the mass of agriculturists not well fed, but that some of them had to live upon carrots and other herbs, getting no grain to eat and being barely able to pay their rent by selling every grain of their wheat.† Increased exports of grain from India thus mean serious misfortune; and I think it is time that something were done in this respect to stop the danger with which it is threatened. In many of the native States the Government prohibits exports of grain when it finds rates having reached a certain point. England, that great apostle of free trade, is still a protectionist in many respects. France, Germany, the United States, Australia and other countries still impose protective duties upon their goods in spite of all the arguments of free trade. Why should not India do the same in the face of the danger with which it is threatened. I would certainly prefer to feed an increasing population at home to sending a grain of wheat abroad, even at the risk of losing India the appellation of the illimitable granary of England.

Drive through Liverpool.

From the docks I went to take a *Drive through Liverpool*; and what could be more interesting than St. George's Hall, with its imposing front, classic architecture, and profusely decorated ceilings. It would be an ornament even for London or Paris. The parks outside the town, though not large, are well kept. The Walker Art Gallery furnishes you with a good instance of the public spirit of these people. The person whose name it bears gave £30,000 for it.

SCOTLAND.

Edinburgh.

From Liverpool to the land of Scott and Burns is another easy journey; and what could be more picturesque than the metropolis of Scotland? I think *Edinburgh* to be the most finely

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situated town in Great Britain. From Prince's Street, the finest and most charming promenade in Edinburgh, the view of the town is charming. The old town is towering above you in huge black masses. The valley in front has now been made into a fine garden. At night the appearance of the old town is even more curious. The first thing that strikes you is that Edinburgh is not a manufacturing town. It is all literary, aristocratic and philosophic. Old relics of the middle ages and monuments—full of historical interest and painful associations meet you at every turn. St. Giles' Church, now restored by one of the Chambers, the Houses of the Scotch Parliament with a fine statue of Duncan Forbes the Scotch lawyer, the Signet Library with its vast collection of books, the beautiful glass windows in Parliament House, the Castle with its regalia, and the room where James I. was born and let down from a window, the Crown of Robert the Bruce, all leave a painful impression upon the mind. Scott justifies the union by saying that, "it has given his country the blessings of equality of laws and rights, extended commerce, improved safety, domestic peace, without the vain though generous boast of a precarious national independence subject to all the evils of domestic faction and delegated oppression." Burns and Smollet did not, however, think in this way. They liked independence. Says one of these:—

"Thy towering spirit now is broke,
Thy neck is bended to the yoke.
What foreign arms could never quell
By civil rage and rancour fell."

Holyrood Palace, the Hampton Court of Scotland, now in ruins, is interesting more for its associations than for its antique furniture, or Queen Mary's, or Darnley's rooms, or the spot of Rizzio's murder. Close by is Arthur's Seat which Scott has immortalised in his Heart of Midlothian. On return to the city you enter a humble but very interesting building. It is the residence of Scotland's great reformer, John Knox. I had the privilege of turning over one of his books, and would transcribe the following passage for the

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benefit of our Indian nobility. It is from a letter Knox wrote to the Earl of Morton:—

"God hath given you many blessings. He hath given you high honour, birth, great riches, many good friends.........In His name, I charge you that you will use these blessings better in time further than you have done in time past; in all your actions seek first the glory of God and then be careful of the king to procure his good and the welfare of his kingdom. If you act thus, God will be with you, if otherwise he will deprive you of these benefits and your end will be shameful and ignominious."

Returning once more to Prince's Street, within the railing of the Eastern Garden, stands the Scott Monument built in 1846 at a cost of more than £15,000. The building is in the form of a tower or spire of elaborate Gothic architecture. It has some fifty-six niches occupied by figures representing characters from the great Novelist's novels, such as those of Prince Charles, the Lady of the Lake, etc. The tower has also a marble statue of Scott. But the impression left upon me was that the monument was unworthy of the great Novelist who had done so much in influencing the literature of his country.

From Prince's Street is an easy drive to an eminence laid out with walks and trees and known as the Carlton Hill. From here you get a fine view of the tower on one side and of the sea on the other. Here are also Nelson's Monument and the National Monument, both very poor buildings indeed. On the opposite side of the road is Burns' Monument which, though it contains some interesting relics of the past, is also a poor looking building.

A drive to Leith and Portobello, the former a rather dirty, and the latter a fairly good, place, takes you out into the suburbs, which, but for the hilly and picturesque country around would not be interesting. I took a last look at this interesting town loth to leave it and recalling to my mind the well-known words of Scott: "A nobler contrast there can hardly exist than that of the huge city, dark with the smoke of ages, and groaning with the various sounds of active industry or idle revel, and the lofty and craggy hill, silent

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and solitary as the grave; one exhibiting the full tide of existence, pressing and precipitating itself forward with the force of an inundation; the other resembling some time-worn anchorite, whose life passes as silent and unobserved as the slender rill, which escapes unheard, and scarce seen from the fountain of his patron saint. The city resembles the busy temple where the modern Comus and Mammon hold their court, and thousands sacrifice ease, independence, and virtue itself at the shrine; the misty and lonely mountain seems as a throne to the majestic but terrible genius of feudal times, where the same divinities dispensed coronets and domains to those who had heads to devise and arms to execute bold enterprises."

At the capital of Scotland I had letters of introduction to the Chambers and cannot requite my sense of their hospitality better than by saying that the career of these pioneers of cheap literature affords a good example of Scotch perseverance and self-reliance. They rose to fame from a few shillings, and now employ some 300 or 400 men, and are incessantly bringing out useful books for the masses. Every Indian student has used at least one of their books. They print books by the electrotype process. The page of the book having been set up in type, and a proof taken and corrected, a wax impression is then taken and black lead poured over it. It is then immersed in an electric bath which deposits copper, and the edges having been levelled, sixty-four of these pages are then screwed on to a roller and printed off and smoothed by machinery. The process is of course much more rapid and better than ordinary type printing.

Glasgow.

From Edinburgh to shipbuilding and commercial *Glasgow* is a great change, through a romantic country, full of hill and dale, field and forest. The town is another Scotch Birmingham and Manchester combined. Passing the Broomielaw Bridge over the Clyde, one of the finest bridges in Europe, I went to Elders' shipbuilding yard, where they showed me a large vessel in course of construction for a German Company. Being uninitiated in shipbuilding I would not attempt to

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describe the parts of a ship or the vast resources of a firm of shipbuilders. It requires very large resources and much complicated machinery to build a steamer. The Clyde's position at Glasgow is peculiarly favourable to the development of this kind of trade, and though it is no longer the place of 'tobacco lords' yet its prosperity is due mainly to the successful pursuit of trade and commerce. So vast are their resources that I was told that they could produce something like 3,000 tons of pig iron per day. And yet one is so often told of the depression of trade in England. People think that England is no longer the supplier-general of the world as it was ten years back, and naturally enough John Bull grumbles at his loss of custom by other nations having made so much progress in not only producing and manufacturing all articles necessary for their home consumption, but also in competing with him in foreign markets. Let our Indian patriots keep that ideal steadily in view. It is now the struggle between the productive powers of the East and the West; and Indians ought to realize the ideal of appearing as Englishmen's competitors, not only as farm labourers and mill hands but also as capitalists. Such a competition would be beneficial to the world; and whether it gives a cheaper loaf to England or not, it would save India from impending impoverishment.

Glasgow is not a very cleanly place. George's Square, with Scott's Monument, is the only handsome place in the city. The Cathedral has some beautifully painted glass windows representing mostly scenes from scriptural history. Close by is the Necropolis with its sad associations. It was in Glasgow that I was caught in one of those phenomena called a 'Scotch Mist,' "rain, thunder and hail;" and it was in Glasgow, where of all others, my Indian dress attracted most notice, probably, because so few Indians go there.

These are some of the principal places I visited in England and Scotland. I visited a great many others also, but as there was nothing very striking about them, I do not think I shall describe them. From Liverpool I had almost made up my mind to go to America, but as duty required my return to the Continent, I had to forego the gratification of that long-cherished desire.

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CHAPTER XI.

The Continent-Switzerland—Italy—Egypt.

I should have liked to prolong my stay in Europe; but having only a short time at my disposal, I felt I could not do better than utilize it by a trip to the Continent before returning to India. An English physician's advice to those of his patients who are bilious and dyspeptic is to embark for the Continent, to get sick in the Channel, and to take a journey along the banks of the Rhine with its soothing and diverting effects; and he assures them that they will soon get over their bad stomachs, their blues, and their hypochondrical diseases. I followed the advice so far as the taking of the trip was concerned; and though I was neither bilious nor dyspeptic, nor got sick in crossing the Channel, a piece of unusual good fortune, yet I felt the trip did me much good. My programme was arranged by Messrs. Thomas Cook and Son, the well-known Tourist Agents of London, who sketched for me a route whereby I could see most in the shortest time possible. Armed with their tickets, I left London at about 10 A.M. one morning for the Continent, reached Dover in about a couple of hours, crossed the Channel in the steamer *Empress* in about 50 or 55 minutes, and reached Lucerne at about 10 next morning. The journey was rather wearisome and uncomfortable; and the accommodation furnished on French railways, the quality of the meals supplied at their railway stations, and the general want of cleanliness that was so strongly noticeable in their bathrooms, only added to our troubles. I had some interesting company on the journey. One of our fellow-travellers was an American who was full of praises for the wealth, magnificence and grandeur of his extraordinary country, representing it to be a veritable paradise upon earth, but leaving an impression that his descriptions were somewhat exaggerated even for progressive America. The other was a Manchester merchant, a truly good and noble soul, who, in order to oblige a stranger, offered to accompany me to Lucerne and to

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show me round. I accepted his kind offer, and not only did he fulfil his promise but impressed me greatly by his deep religious earnestness in praying for me when we parted.

Lucerne.

Lucerne, with a population of only 18,000, is only a small town in Switzerland. But its situation, at the foot of gently sloping hills covered with verdure and full of villas as well as its romantic and classical lake and its close proximity to Rigi Kulm, the Forest sea, as it is called, attracts lovers of the picturesque from all parts of Europe. The only good houses in the place are its hotels and pensions, but it is not these but its lovely mountains, its fine landscapes, the air of quietness that prevails all round, its numerous walks shaded with lovely trees on the shores of the lake, that have made it the Mecca of all lovers of the picturesque, and have led travellers to say that, next to Naples and Constantinople it is the most finely situated town in the world. So popular is this place with pleasure-seekers that thousands of people visit it every year, and the hotels are always full during the season.

The town is reached by a bridge built over the lake. Close to it is an old covered wooden bridge full of curious paintings. At Lucerne I felt as if all my troubles were over; and, after having refreshed myself at my hotel, I rushed on to catch the steamer for Rigi. As the steamer glided along the quay the scene was most charming. The many Gothic churches, villas, and quaint old buildings, the town with its old walls, the many hotels with which it is full, the hills with their trees and fertile slopes, all seemed to present a scene that defies description. Vitznau was soon reached; and I got down there for having a trip to Rigi. There is now a railway from Vitznau to Rigi Kulm. This railway is one of the greatest engineering feats of its kind. Its length is only 4 miles and 3 furlongs, but the rise from the lake to Rigi is 4,487 feet, the gradient being 20·4 in 100 feet, which is about six times as much as the rise in the Bhor Ghat section of the Great Indian Peninsula railway. The gauge is the ordinary gauge, but between the two usual rails runs a third with wrought iron teeth, the latter being about 10 feet

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long and having thirty teeth, thus]=[. This toothed rail is worked by the cog-wheel of the engine. The speed of the train is about three miles an hour both up hill and down hill. For the ascent steam is employed, but in descending compressed air is used. The train consists of only a locomotive and a passenger carriage which is left open in order to save interruption of the view. The engine pushes the carriage up hill; in coming down it only prevents it from rolling down. A guide walks in front of the train to give notice of storm; and the journey takes about an hour and a half. The ascent now commences; and the higher it goes the greater is the admiration it calls forth for the bold structure of the railway. At the Schmertobel bridge is an awful ravine with a light bridge—one of the greatest triumphs of engineering skill. At Freibergen is seen the remarkable optical delusion of trees, huts, houses, and rocks, all appearing bent back. This is due to the construction of the carriages. At the Kaltbad station, which is next reached, the scenery is enchanting in the extreme. From here, amidst changing scenery, we reach the Rigi Kulm; the highest summit of the famous mountain—the goal of the tourist. The view from here of the surrounding mountains to the south and the low-lying lands to the north, is beyond description. On one side are "the Alps, the palaces of nature, whose vast walls have pinnacled in clouds the snowy scalps and enthroned eternity in icy halls." On the other side are lakes, mountains and plains covering many hundreds of miles. It is impossible to say where the panorama begins and ends. At sunset the scene is even more majestic; while, from the powerful telescope they have provided on the stand, the view of the country round is the most unique one has ever seen. In short the scene is one that is not likely to be forgotten—

> It "Led climbing thought higher and higher until
> It seemed to stand in heaven and speak unto the gods."

On return, we again met the sight of trees and every thing else appearing slanting, on account of the position of

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the train. From Vitznau to Flüelen is another enjoyable trip over the crystal waters of the lake through "crest and crag," riven ravine, splintered precipices, streaks of snow-covered hills, small villages, Tell's Platte, etc. Tell was a Swiss patriot. He would not bow to the Austrian Gessler's hat. The Governor having heard of his skill as a marksman ordered him under penalty of instant death, to place his only son against the tree and shoot an apple from his head with his cross bow. Tell, knowing his skill, complied; but at the same time secreted a second arrow for the heart of the tyrant, if the first one killed his child. This being discovered, Tell was put in irons and hurried into a boat to be taken to Gessler's castle at Kus Nacht. A violent storm suddenly arose, and none of the guards being able to manage the boat, Tell's chains were loosed and the helm handed over to him. He steered for shore; and on approaching the rock at Tell's Platte, he suddenly leaped ashore, shoving the boat back into the lake as he leaped. At Rutle Schwur are figures of three Swiss who are swearing to free their country from the Austrian yoke. Foreign nations, much wealthier and more refined, truly envy the love of liberty of this simple people; their moderate wealth, moderate taxation, moderate revenue, and military conscription of a nature which turns people to serve their country in time of need. It had rained that day but had soon after cleared; and as we glided in the steamer the scene presented by the surrounding hills, with their numerous rivulets of water running down, was simply splendid. Again and again I admired it; and was loth to leave it, for as Valmiki said:—

"This varied scene so charms my sight,
This mount so fills with delight
That life in woodland shade like this
Secures a King immortal bliss."

St. Gothard.

But after taking a look at the Lucerne Lion I left for *St. Gothard.* The Tunnel is the greatest engineering feat in the world and the largest of its kind in existence. It is some ten miles long and 6,000 feet below the Kastlehorn, under

which it passes. Its boring, which was carried on simultaneously from either side, employed some 3,000 men for seven and a half years, till they met on the last wall being pierced through. The tunnel is well supplied with light and air; and though you take twenty minutes to pass through it, there is not much suffocation. It cost two and a half millions sterling; and is quite a unique thing of its kind. The surrounding scenery is at times grand enough to make you dizzy to gaze upon it. The road leads through a pass whose grandeur, as the poet says, is a load upon the awe-struck mind.

I travelled over this picturesque route in the day time, and think it, with many other travellers, to be one of the grandest sceneries in Europe. Ruins of old castles, chapels, ravines, hemmed in by lofty mountains, tunnels, valleys, the railway line with its twistings and turnings, cascades flowing from rocks, all pass in a panoramic view before the traveller till he enters Italy.

Italy—Milan.

At Chiasso our baggage was examined with a tenth of the trouble that every jack-in-office so much delights to give you in India, and I reached *Milan* in the evening. The change was significant, as there is an oriental air every where about Italy and its people. Milan is rightly famous for its Cathedral, which, after the Taj at Agra and St. Peter's at Rome, is the most profusely ornamented structure of its kind. It was began in the 14th century, and is built of white marble. It is 500 feet by 186 feet with a nave 158 feet high on 52 pillars. The Nativity Dome was begun in 1386. It is 214 feet across. The Tower is 300 feet high. The Cathedral has 135 spires or pinnacles, 61,500 bas *reliefs*, and some 2,000 statues outside and about 700 within. The Tower is reached by a flight of 500 steps; and to ascend it is the best way of estimating the beauty and elaborateness of this remarkable building, as well as to admire it to your heart's content. The number of its pinnacles, their beauty and the elaborated care bestowed upon each are all very remarkable. From the octagon you get a superb view, said to be the finest in the world. Truly Byron was right when he described the Cathedral and its associations thus:—

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"Tis only in the land of fairy dreams
Such marble temples rise bright in the gleams
Of golden sunshine. Truth now here repeats
What fancy oft has pictured forth in sleep,
And gives substantial forms to fancy's flights.
How bright! how beautiful the turrets peep
In snowy clouds while statues crown their heights,
Oft does the night these towers in moonshine steep,
Stirring the soul to poetry's delights."

If the poet had visited the Taj, his pen would have given the world even something more delicious in praise of that charming building. I have often wondered whilst walking on the marble terrace of this Indian wonder, how grand the effect must have been when age had not disfigured or covered with moss, the creamy whiteness of its marble. So it was with the Milan Cathedral. Its finish, though not so detailed as that of the Taj, is still more like that of a piece of jewellery, than of a thing of brick and mortar. Its garlands, statues, spires, all lend it a magnificence scarcely surpassed by any building in Europe. It was built 500 years ago. So much credit is due to the architect, whose work every one still admires. Its chapel is very fine; and could not fail to excite notice. Yet I do not think the inside of the Cathedral comes up to its outside: just the reverse of what you see in the Taj. The Cathedral is situated in a very busy locality, and the roads around it are very fine. I could not, however, say as much for the other parts of Milan. Its houses and shops and the streets have none of that cleanliness which I so often noticed in Paris.

Rome.

A night's journey takes you to the once Mistress of the World—*Rome*, whose history every one has read, whose language and laws still influence modern Christendom, and whose religious supremacy is even now acknowledged, if not so universally as before, yet by a very fair section of Europe—even in these days of progress. No place equals it in interest, beauty and instruction, or for having so many memories of the past. It contains, as the

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guide-book says, "within itself relics of the day when Christianity was budding into life and men and women perished in the great arena of the Coliseum, whose shattered walls still rear their massive stones in solemn grandeur." It contains within itself that fane towards which the aspirations of hundreds of millions of people turn to-day, as the centre of the universe and the cradle of the sacred teachings of life. It contains to-day the master-pieces of Raphael, Michael Angelo, and those illustrious painters for whom Italy is famous. It contains to-day the sculptured forms that throb with life, and are instinctively alike with the ingeniousness of the artist and the people amongst whom they sprang. All these, and a hundred other treasures are there; the house of Rienzi and the palace of the Caesars vie in their claims with the galleries of the Vatican and the interior of St. Peter's. The arches of Constantine and Titus invite attention, and even take us back to the period when the early Christians found refuge in the Catacombs, and lived and died amid the regions of the dead. No charm is absent: and all that is great in art, great in religion, great in mental force which stamps its impress upon the life by which it is surrounded, may be found in abundance. The temptations are as limitless as the conditions with which they deal, and those who ever see Rome feel their thoughts turn back with an abiding reverence and an ever-growing appreciation."

The city comprises within it a confused blending of all the three orders of civilization, ancient, mediæval and modern; and, side by side with the Forum, the Coliseum, the Pantheon, stand the churches of the early Christians, the Vatican, the Piazza del Popolo, modern sculptures, paintings, the Pincian Gardens, etc., etc. It is impossible to give any idea of the beauties of this place. Every inch of it is classical and teaches one something. We shall, however, commence with the Coliseum. It is a Colossus amongst buildings, "grand even in decay" as Europeans say; but to a native of India, it is a heap of ruins with nothing but its fearful associations of fights of gladiators and martyrdoms of the early Christians, and it can offer but little attraction. The place is in the form of an amphitheatre, displaying more than one order of

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architecture but not with any pretensions to beauty. It could accommodate 87,000 spectators; but where emperors sat and noble ladies feasted their eyes on bloodshed, are now the nests of the owl and the bat amidst clusters of grass and creepers.

The Forum is even more a mass of ruins than the Coliseum; and here again, unless you summon imagination and association to your aid, there is not much to admire except broken pillars, ruins of courts, temples, columns, etc. Yet it was here that Antony said—

"Who is here so base that would be a bondsman,
Who is here so rude that would not be a Roman,
Who is here so vile that would not love his country?"

From the tower of the Capitol, which is identified with the most remarkable periods of Roman history, you get a view of what kings and conquerors once called their own.

After treading my way through the arches of Titus and Constantine and passing by the columns of Vespasian, the pillar of Trajan and other antiquities, I crossed Father Tiber, as the old Romans called it, by St. Angelo's bridge, quite a remarkable structure of its kind, over quite a dirty little river. St. Peter's, which is the largest Christian church in existence, is the most remarkable building I have seen in Europe. The building, strangely enough appeared to get larger as the eye got used to it. As my guide-book says: "St. Peter's is the largest Christian church in the world. It stands on the Vatican Hill, on the spot, according to tradition, where the Apostle Peter, after his crucifixion, was buried; and, according to fact where Nero's Circus stood, and where many of the early Christians were martyred, where Constantine, about 330, erected a Basilica. More than a thousand years passed when Nicholas V. commenced the present edifice. It advanced but slowly till the time of Julius II., when the eminent architect Bramante prepared a new design on the model of a Greek cross. In the reign of Leo X. the plan was altered to a Latin cross; and again in 1546 Michael Angelo, employed by Paul III., returned to the original idea of a Greek cross, and he designed a dome and

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a facade like that of the Pantheon. The front was completed in 1632. One hundred and seventy-six years and the reigns of twenty-eight popes passed away, fifteen architects succeeded each other, and ten millions of money were expended before the building of St. Peter's was completed. The facade is 372 feet in breadth and 152 feet in height; the vestibule is 235 feet and long 66 feet high. The nave is 79 feet wide and 148 feet high; the aisles are 200 feet long; the internal diameter of the cupola is 141 feet, and the summit of the cross is 470 feet above the ground."

The inside of this Church is full of beauty and grandeur. St. Peter's tomb and his pulpit, the various statues in the niches, the beautifully twisted marble columns over the altar, the statue of Alexander VII., with its exquisite folds of drapery, Canova's tomb of Clement VII., the splendid ceiling and the innumerable treasures of art I met with all round, quite bewildered me; and St. Peter's may well be called the sovereign of the modern, as they called the Coliseum the sovereign of ancient Rome. "It appears," says Mendelssohn "to be some great work of nature. I never can realize that it is the work of man. You strive to distinguish the ceiling, as little as the canopy of heaven. You lose all idea of measurement with the eye." And yet one could hardly realize that here it was that the early Christians were killed. "The Cathedral of Rome," St. Lateran, "the mother of all the Churches in the world," where the Pope is crowned, is full of interesting antiquities of the earliest days of Christianity. St. Maria Maggiore is quite a charming building with its marble columns, pillars and spires. St. Paul's is quite unlike its London namesake, in form and beauty. These churches of Rome did not, however, strike me very much when viewed as a whole, but the architectural details were most admirably and exquisitely elaborated.

The Pantheon of Rome is the only complete building of its kind that has survived vandalism; yet one could not understand what glory these early Christians derived by changing so many heathen temples into Christian churches. They recalled to my mind the noble words which Symmachus

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put into the mouth of Rome: "Most excellent princes, fathers of your country, pity and respect my age, which has hitherto flowed in an uninterrupted course of piety. Since I do not repent permit me to continue in the practice of my ancient rites. Since I am born free, allow me to enjoy my domestic institutions. This religion has reduced the world under my laws. These rites have repelled Hannibal from the city and the Gauls from the capitol. Were my grey hairs reserved for such intolerable disgrace? I am ignorant of the new system that I am required to adopt; but I am well assured that the correction of old age is always an ungrateful and ignominious office."

Days, perhaps months, would not suffice to see all the antiquities of this place; and after seeing its world-famed galleries and sculptures and taking a drive through its busy streets, I left Rome with feelings of sorrow at the fate of this nurse of arms and arts.

Naples.

From Rome to *Naples* is a weary journey through the hot plains of Italy. There is a famous saying, "See Naples and then die," because nature and art have nowhere combined together in so charming a manner. With Vesuvius emitting its smoke and lava on one side, the city rising like an amphitheatre on the other, and the bay in front, the whole forms a magnificent panorama. Again and again I enjoyed this view and was never tired of it. I wonder if it was for this that Cicero wrote, the Greeks founded their colonies and the Romans built their villas here. Even to this day "the calm of the sea, the soft air and the brilliancy of the place, make it the resort of the idle and the educated." The inside of the town has a good museum full of articles used by the people of Pompeii 2,000 years ago; but I did not think much of the churches, having seen much better elsewhere. The city is very unequally populated. Portions of it have all the life and bustle of an English commercial town, while in others I saw dogs rolling themselves in the dust as if every thing was in desolate ruins. Everywhere the place looks more like an Eastern than a Western town. The complexion, physique and general bear-

ing of the inhabitants, the character of the vegetation, the structure of the houses, the dirty appearance of the streets, all remind you of the East. Nowhere else in Europe did I see people frying stalks of Indian corn in the streets or eating such quantities of water melons. One might think he was in Dehli or Agra on a June morning. There is another curiosity about the streets of Naples. They are paved neither with wood nor asphalt, but with pumice stone from the lava of Vesuvius. On my way to Brindisi I noticed that Italy was in more than one respect like India, the country was so unlike what I met with further north, and the cottages in the fields reminded me of our own flat-roofed houses.

Egypt—Alexandria.

I should like to have prolonged my stay in Europe, but the call of my duty was peremptory; and, after a little tossing in the never smooth Mediterranean, I found myself one morning in that oldest of sea-ports, *Alexandria*, of which I had read so much in ancient history. The modern town does not, however, owe so much to the ancients, as to the moderns. Its grand square with its fine broad streets, well-built houses and handsome shops, show more of French than Egyptian taste. The native quarter is just like the native quarter of an Indian town, perhaps a shade filthier. Its houses, shops, and narrow lanes take you to an Indian town where sanitary ideas are as yet imperfectly developed. What, however, struck me was the number of cafés where people, besides sipping their national beverage, were smoking long pipes. These pipes are a little improvement on the Indian *hooka,* but much more costly. The outside of the town, as of all *Egypt*, is not very pleasant. A vast sandy desert, painful to the eye, extends for miles, except where the waters of the muddy Nile allow of trees and cultivated fields flourishing. The habits of the people, who are much stronger, and darker and more fierce-looking than our ryots, are not of the cleanest description, not even in their holiday costumes; and in their fairs, I missed those stalls of tempting knick-knacks which now-a-days form such a feature of fairs everywhere.

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There was nothing remarkable in the return journey; and after experiencing all the troubles of sea-sickness, the ship rolling furiously, sometimes like a ball, the waves striking the upper deck, and every one's face betraying anxiety for health and safety, I landed in Bombay, pleased at having done so much in such a short interval.

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CHAPTER XII.

The Journey.

I shall now give a brief account of my late visit to Ceylon, of which I had read much, both in the oldest epic of the Hindus, the Ramayana of Valmiki, as well as in books of modern writers. So I left for the country of Ravana, one October evening in a P. & O. steamer, the *Surat*. The return first-class fare from Bombay to Colombo and back is only Rs. 125; and with the facility and comfort afforded by a Company like the P. & O. it is a wonder why more Indians than go to Ceylon at present, do not visit that interesting Island. As usual, the process of rubbing and scrubbing was going on in the P. & O. ship all day. There was not an hour of the day when the *serangs* or the quartermasters, or other servants of the ship, were not cleaning something. From 5 to 9 in the morning the upper decks are cleaned and washed, the brass and iron wiped clean, the chairs put in their proper places, and all traces of people having occupied or slept on the decks or in the saloons, removed. The *serangs* are mostly men from Guzerat, the natives of Bhownugger largely preponderating. They get from about Rs. 5 to Rs. 25 a month, including board; and some of them are very smart and active. One of them would run up a mast and sit like a monkey quite at ease and moving only by holding on by a rope. Their European servants are also well paid. An officer of a ship starts as a sixth officer on some £5 a month. After a voyage he becomes fifth officer on £6. He then rises to be a fourth officer on £8, a third on £10, a second on £15 when he becomes a chief officer on £20. After twenty years' service, when he has made several voyages backwards and forwards, he becomes a captain. Commencing from £400 he rises to as much as £800 a year, which considering his responsible duties is not much. The doctor gets about £10 a month, and the engineers from £6 upwards. The whole arrangement of all P. and O. vessels is very exact and methodical, and even though a ship like the *Surat* be an old vessel, yet they make it up by keeping it very clean and in good order. They go from ten-and-a-half to fourteen or fifteen miles an hour;

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and the speed is lowest where the current is, as it is in the Bay of Bengal, against them. They have now a machine which automatically registers the number of miles travelled. An instrument shaped like a time-piece has a dial marked upon it miles from 0 to 100. Corresponding to the second-hand dial of a time-piece is a smaller dial showing the furlongs. As the ship moves on, a rope from the instrument winds itself round a small bit of iron chain attached to the instrument, and as soon as a mile is done the hand on the lower dial has completed its round and the hand on the larger dial moves one line. A bell strikes at regular intervals and indicates that a mile has been travelled. This is checked by another method. A rope tied round a pully has distances marked upon it. This rope is thrown into the sea, while a *serang* holds a sand-glass and the number that has gone there indicates the number of knots travelled. As the ship glides along, the coast of India is always in sight. Passing the Conical Hill the ship takes a south-easterly course. The highest peak of the Western Ghauts is now visible. We are now in sight of Cape Comorin and passing it we lose sight of India altogether.

Colombo.

A few hours more of gliding on the waves bring us to *Colombo,* thankful at having reached 875 miles in such a short time and after so pleasant and safe a voyage.

I left the ship next morning and got to the pier in about ten minutes. The harbour is not very large, but it is a place of junction for steamers from Australia and China and, therefore, very important for steamship companies of the East. The capital of Ceylon is also not a very large place. Its fort is the only place worth living in. The native town is even more smelly than our Indian towns. Its population, which is about 1,20,000, consists of Singhalese, Burghers, who are descendants of Dutch and German settlers from native women, Tamils, Portuguese, Europeans, Jaffanese, etc., etc. The Singhalese are of a very dark colour. All wear a short jacket and a *camboi* like a *dhoti* but tied by a girdle, and a semi-circular tortoise shell in the hair. They generally

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speak Tamil though many understand English also. The Singhalee of the present day, however, wears a European dress, coat, hat, pants, etc., which he makes look somewhat ridiculous by wearing a camboi over his pants. I asked a Singhalee the reason of this and he told me that it was done to distinguish them from the Burghers! The habits of the people are on a par with those of our own people. Rice, fish, and vegetables are their principal food. Fruit is plentiful all over the Island; and its lower portions are literally covered with rice, plantains, palms, areca-nuts, cocoa-nuts, etc. The ordinary cocoa-nut is called "Karamba" and a superior kind—"King cocoanut." Large quantities of "king cocoa-nut" water are drunk by the upper classes in the well-founded belief that it is very cooling. I did not, however, much care for its taste. This cannot however be said of their plantains, which are, I believe, the best in the world. The shops in the native quarter are not very handsome nor are the things sold prepossessing. Some of them are even more dirty and untidy than our own Indian shops. They are very extravagant in their prices. They do not scruple to ask four or five times the real price. Says the shopkeeper: "We ask so much. What will master give?" This is the custom in Colombo!

Walking-sticks, ebony articles, knick-knacks of tortoise shell, small pieces of jewellery, these and other things are largely sold in the curiosity shops in the Fort. In the town the ordinary necessaries of life are sold. Tea, cinchona, spices, cocoa-nuts, areca-nuts, are the chief articles of export; but as I shall describe some of them further on, I shall not anticipate myself here.

The Government House is in the Fort; but its outside is not as grand as those of our Indian Government Houses. The Courts are located on the other side of the town. The Supreme Court consists of some three judges, two of whom sit as an Appellate Court and one tries original cases. One of the judges was sitting in the Sessions trying a case of stabbing with the knife, a most common offence in Ceylon. Below the Supreme Court is the District Court whose power

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extends to the trial of all civil actions above £10. It can also inflict a fine of Rs. 200 and award imprisonment for one year. Below it is the Court of Requests corresponding to our Small Cause Courts for the trial of suits under £10. The judge of this court has also criminal powers like those of a police magistrate, *viz.*, of imprisonment for six months and a fine of Rs 100. After the magistrate has completed his inquiry he sends up the case to the Attorney-General who certifies as to whether he could himself pass sentence or send it up to the District or the Supreme Court. In both the upper Courts the proceedings were very regular. Only while a complainant was being examined, the judge interposed with his questions more than a judge of the High Court would do in India. There is a lot of barristers and proctors, the latter corresponding to our pleaders; and I found them to be as much to the point in asking questions as we find our own pleaders and barristers here. There is much litigation in Ceylon; and I was told that the Singhalese ruin themselves even more by going to law than the Indians.

From Pettah, the native quarter of Colombo, to the Slave Island is an easy row by a boat. Thence you walk through lovely avenues of cocoa-nut, bread-fruit and other trees. Passing the Galle-face and Kulla-patya, the residence of the *elite* of Colombo, you come to the Cinnamon Gardens and Victoria Park. The roads are all very clean, and a walk over them very refreshing. Thence a friend took me to the High Priest of Colombo, Sri Sumangla, the principal of the Vidyodya College, an institution for training the Budhist priests. The high priest spoke to me in Sanskrit; and asked me questions regarding many mutual acquaintances. He expressed his great satisfaction at my desire to see the Budhist temples and soon sent me on to see his college. The college contains about 200 students, who read Sanskrit grammar, prosody, the Bhagvad Gita and other works of Sanskrit literature. They all dress like Budhist monks, *viz.*, wear only one piece of yellow cloth. The library of the college contains exceedingly valuable Pali Mss. on palm leaves, some of them beautifully and very artistically illuminated. The

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books are mostly the Dhampada and the Vinaya texts of the Budhists, regarding the former of which it has been said that no poet, moralist or philosopher has left such a noble code of morality as did the great religious teacher of Asia, whose religion still has the largest number of followers of any in the world.

Thence I went to the Kalineya Temple, one of the most famous Budhist temples in Ceylon. This temple has a masonry dome said to contain the bones of Budha which had been brought there from India 2,000 years ago. In its shrine, which is only shown to privileged visitors, are life-size reliefs of Budha and Budhistic saints, said to have been cut also 2,000 years ago! On its walls are paintings representing the Budhist Arhats. It, however, struck me that from being a religion of holy life, of world-embracing sympathy, of eschewing passions and desires, of self-culture and self-restraint, Budhism in Ceylon, like Hinduism in India, had become a religion of forms and dogma, of Budha worship. Both in Colombo as well as in Kandy I noticed people prostrating themselves before the images of Budha and believing they had done all that their religion required. Drums, bells, and other music which is played in Hindu temples in evenings and mornings, are played in those of Ceylon, while the same offerings of large quantities of flowers which are made here are made there. The priests are, with few exceptions, not above the level of our own priests. How many Budhists of the present day realize the four truths of Budhism, *viz.*, the truth of suffering caused by birth, decay, illness, desire, hatred, clinging to existence, etc., the truth of the cause of suffering being lust and thirst leading to births and re-births, the truth of the cessation of suffering with the complete cessation of thirst and desire and the truth of the path which leads to the cessation of suffering, *viz.*, a life of holiness and purity, of right belief, right aspiration, right speech, right conduct, right means of livelihood, right exertion, right mindfulness and right meditation. *

* *Maha Vaga* 1-6.

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The great teacher of Budhism did not inculcate any new religion. All that he taught was the ancient and the purer religion of the Upanishads of the Hindus. Krishna did not inculcate any thing different in the Bhagvad Gita. But as in the case of the Hindus so in the case of the Budhists, the substance has been lost in the appearance, and the shell mistaken for the pearl. When Budha said that a Bhikkhu (mendicant) attains to renunciation not merely by the destruction of lust but by the very absence of the condition of lust, ill-will and delusion, he only followed Krishna, who said: "He is the true Sanyasi, who is totally free from both attachment and aversion." The fact is that whether it be esoteric Budhism or esoteric Hinduism, for both are the same, it is destined to exercise a vast influence for good in the world; and the time is not far distant when it will be the religion of all wise and thinking men by whatever name they may chose to call it. Nothing can be nobler than Budha's idea of happiness, *i. e.*, to "live without hating those who hate us, free from greed among the greedy, calling nothing our own, unattached to both victory and defeat, having quenched the fire of passion and hatred, tasting the sweets of solitude and tranquillity, untortured by yearnings after objects of sense, unstained by sins, un-ached by earthly joys and sorrows, till seeking nothing we gain all, foregoing self the universe grows 'I', till we are blest by ceasing to be subject to birth and re-birth, till both life and death are destroyed." And yet this truth, which has so long been the precious heritage of the East, is only now making its force felt in the West.

Out in the Country.

From Colombo I went to Neuraliya, the charming sanitarium of Ceylon. Leaving Colombo the country is one large garden of cocoa-nuts, areca-nuts, rice fields, plaintains and forest trees. There is not one inch of barren or sandy land, every thing is so fresh and green. The train works its way up from a flat to a hilly country and as it rises, the scenery becomes grander. The speed of the train does not exceed twelve miles an hour, but their engines are more powerful than those of

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our Indian railways. Through twisting and winding roads we get higher up. Rambukana is 316 feet above Colombo, though the distance is only about 50 miles. The next important station is 1,650 feet above sea level. Here tiny roads leading to tea estates which are interspersed all over this part of the country, hills covered with forest trees, streams falling from tops of hills, dark tunnels, viaducts over ravines covered with rice fields, pass in an unending succession before you. The scenery is often grand enough to make one dizzy to look at, and make him think this portion of Ceylon to be superior in some respects to the corresponding portions of India or Switzerland. As we go higher up rice fields disappear and give greater room to tea. Here remnants of old coffee estates are met with in abundance. Near Kaduganawa is a memorial of General Dawson who opened the cart road for traffic. Passing Predinya junction, where half the train is cut off for Kandy, we get to Nawalapatya which is about 2,000 feet above the sea, thence to Watawala 3,260 feet, Hatton 4,000 feet, till we get to Nanu Oya the station for Neuraliya. Thence the coach takes you to the sanitarium of Ceylon in about one hour through tea gardens and Indian forest trees intermixed with those of European countries. The place is about 6,000 feet above Colombo and the change in the climate is very marked. Here you enjoy the bracing air of the hills, and feel even more refreshed than in a hill station in India. The hill slopes are either covered with tea gardens or wild trees. There are not many houses in Neuraliya, but that is I think one of the charms of this place. How I loved to walk over its shady roads! What a refreshing morning breeze I enjoyed there! Had it not been for my other engagements I would not have left this place so soon as I had to. Truly the Hindu poets of old, when they described the capital of the Rakhshasa King to be made of gold and jewels, had in their mind its extreme fertility and its beautiful scenery.

Kandy.

From Neuraliya I went to *Kandy*, a very pleasant and cheerful place in Ceylon and much prettier than Colombo. On my way back the scenery had not lost its charm; and after feasting

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my eyes over it once more, I got to Kandy in the afternoon and at once drove over to the Paredinya Botanical Gardens. These gardens cover 150 acres of land and are the best of their kind whether in Europe or Asia. The climate is very favourable to the culture of all sorts of trees. Here you see not only india-rubber trees as large as our Indian banian trees, nut-megs hanging like apples upon trees, pepper creepers, cocoa-nut trees in great variety, ebony and other trees peculiar to Ceylon, but also a large collection of trees from South America, Islands of the Indian Ocean, the Malay Peninsula, etc., etc. The director of the gardens very kindly showed me some of his curiosities; while in its museum I saw, among other things of interest, a splendid block of mahagony cut in the form of a chair and said to be sixty years old, iron-wood timber, which has all the strength and the ring of iron, the inner bark of the *riti* tree, in the form of a large size natural sack, and some curious specimens of ebony. I also saw many varieties of orchids in flower which I had never seen elsewhere, vanilla creepers with their beans, tallipoat palms upon which Budhists write their Mss., palmyra palms, sago palms, Java almonds, cinnamon trees with their leaves like those of *Jamanand*, other curiosities too numerous to detail, and I left the gardens greatly pleased at what I saw. Thence I went to the Budhist temple in Kandy. Here, as in Colombo, they spoke to me in Sanskrit and showed me ungrudgingly all their most precious treasures. It was evening, and the din of music was deafening. Large quantities of flowers were being brought to the temple for being offered to Budha's images. One of the priests explained to me that the temple was built 300 years ago by Gunratna Askiri Vihari, a Budhist king of Ceylon. The doors and the door-frames of the shrine of the larger temple are beautiful specimens of Eastern art. The first line, which has beautiful carvings in ivory, is followed by similar ones in silver and then by others in gold. The flowers cut are very delicate and lovely. Inside the temple is a chased gold case in the form of a shrine containing Budha's tooth, as well as images of Budha in gold and silver. In the smaller temple is a beautiful crystal image of the

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great teacher of Budhism in a silver case which is not shown to every one, as well as other images of gold, silver and brass. The priest of this temple greatly impressed me by his urbanity of manner, and I at once took a liking to him. Next day I walked by the lovely lake of Kandy, through its splendid avenue of trees, and was greatly delighted by what the care of the Ceylon Government has made it. The town did not, however, strike me much; and I found its native portion to be as dirty as that of Colombo.

It was now time to return to India; and I returned to Colombo after having enjoyed the lovely country scenery of Ceylon. From time immemorial the Island has been a great place for gold, pearls, elephants and palms. It has long been the repository of the three Patikas of the Southern Budhists; and is even now a great citadel of that religion. Chinese travellers who came to India in the fifth century describe it to be a country of agreeable climate, full of verdant vegetation, and containing a royal city with a monastry of some 5,000 monks. To-day the place is also a great place for trade. Its exports of coffee have given place to tea, of which as much as some seventy-five millions of pounds, a tea planter told me, was exported every year. The business is largely in the hands of European Companies who derive great profit from the industry. Spices are also largely exported, and the exports of the Islands come to about four millions sterling per annum, which, considering its size, indicates its great fertility and its vast resources. Altogether I look upon my short visit to it as a very interesting event in my life, and my regret is that I could not prolong my stay there. I wish our countrymen would visit it in larger numbers than they do at present; and I assure them that the trip will be one of both instruction and enjoyment.

Conclusion.

I should now come to a *Conclusion*. I have tried to give what has struck me most in the condition of both India and England. As I have said, in more than one place in these notes, both may profitably learn much from each other; and unlike Rome, which perished in its attempt of introducing its own civilization

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into its provinces, neither can fear being any worse for taking lessons from the other. The destinies of both are now most closely united and neither can spare the other. If India has vastly to gain by its rulers being Britons, Great Britain's trade and capital and talent have also a great and most profitable field in India. And not only in point of prestige or employment of talent, capital or industry, but also in other respects, Britain's sciences, arts and religion have already or shall hereafter vastly gain from India. Alike to the student of geology, botany and ethnology as well as to the antiquarian, the philologist, the seeker after philosophic truth, India belongs not to India alone, but also to the whole of the civilized European world. Not only does modern Europe owe a deep debt of gratitude to Greece and Rome, but the time is also not far distant when it will acknowledge the debt it owes to India in unfolding many a hidden chapter of the history of civilization, many an unexplored region of human thought, many a solution of the great problems of existence, many a mystery of what foreign writers call "the most natural of natural religions." Not only, as Max Müller says, a knowledge of India shall soon be regarded in Europe as part of a liberal education, but that in studying our languages, our literature, our history, our philosophy, above all our solution of the most complex questions of a life hereafter, Europe shall feel as if it were going to its old home.

It is, however, on the side of India that the advantage has been greater, and she cannot feel too grateful to Providence for Great Britain being her ruler. Without peace and education, two of the greatest blessings which Britain has conferred upon her, she could not have hoped to keep pace with other nations in the race for progress; and her gratitude to her present rulers for awakening in it high and noble aspirations regarding its evolution cannot be too deep. What it, however, has to guard against is both a too rigid adherence to its own obsolete customs as well as against too implicit a belief in the success of modern methods in working out its evolution. It has on the one hand to combine with a knowledge of the literature and sciences of the West, a more thorough and

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practical acquaintance with the causes which have made Europe what she is, and on the other to preserve so much of its own institutions as are consistent with progress. In a word she requires to let modern spirit penetrate peaceably into its old institutions, modifying all but destroying none. From its present rulers over and above their language and literature, it has to take lessons in that great principle of theirs, the nobleness of work. As Carlyle has said: "Blessed is he who has found his work; let him ask no other blessedness. He has a work, a life-purpose, he has found it and will follow it." * The latest gospel in this world, as he truly says, "is know thy work and do it." The wages of that work may not lie on earth but the wages of every noble work lie in heaven; and if our countrymen but understand it as truly as the British do, they will be happier both here and hereafter. In the same way when Krishna, as I have already said in these notes, spoke of one's worshipping God by his work, he had in his mind a life-purpose, a work for every man upon earth, holding that his best worship of his Maker lay in doing it well and without caring for its reward.

Another great lesson which England furnishes to India is that though stupidest in speech it is the wisest in action. John Bull, with his surly face and his "spoken nonsense," as Carlyle calls it, has much unspoken sense, much inner silent feeling of what it is true, what agrees with fact, what is do-able and what is not do-able. These seek their fellow in the world. "A terrible worker; irresistible against marshes, mountains, impediments, disorder, incivilization; everywhere vanquishing disorder leaving it behind him as method and order. Settling down, after infinite tumblings into a stable equilibrium, insensible to logic, certain of the greatness of law and custom, solemnly established, very conservative and thick-skinned yet capable of great acts."† Such is the character which Carlyle gives his nation. Will the Indian copy the Briton in these respects as much, as if not more, than he does him in his literature and arts of life. John Bull does not believe in

* *Past and Present* Chap., XI., p. 169.
† *Past and Present* Chap., V., p. 139.

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priest-craft. His very inherited proclivities make him impatient of restraint. Deep-rooted prejudices he has many; but even they; make him felt all throughout the world. To the Indian all this affords a rich material for import into his own country to reap a cent. per cent. of profit in the shape of his own evolution. The Chelsea sage's biographer, Froude, holds that if progress is to be anything worth the name it shall have to face and solve these questions. "First personally, Are the individual citizens growing more pure in their private habits? Are they true and just in their dealings? Is their intelligence, if they are becoming intelligent, directed towards learning and doing what is right, or are they looking only for more extended pleasures and for the means of obtaining them? Are they making progress, in—what old-fashioned people used to call the fear of God, or are their personal selves and the indulgence of their own inclinations the end and aim of their existence? That is one question, and the other is its counterpart. Each nation has a certain portion of the earth's surface allotted to it, from which the means of its support are been wrung: Are the proceeds of labour distributed justly, according to the work which each individual has done; or does one plough and another reap in virtue of superior strength, superior cleverness or cunning? These are the criteria of progress. All else is merely misleading."* Further on he says:—"The power to overreach requires restraint as much as the power to rob and kill; and the progress of civilization depends on the extent of the domain which is reclaimed under the moral law. Nations have been historically great in proportion to their success in this direction. Religion, while it is sound, creates a basis of conviction upon which legislation can act; and where the legislator drops the problem the spiritual teacher takes it up. So long as a religion is believed, and so long as it retains a practical direction, the moral idea of right can be made the principle of government. When religion degenerates into superstition or doctrinalism, the statesman loses his ground and laws

* Froude's *Short Studies on Great Subjects* Vol. 2 page 389.

intended, as it is scornfully said, to make men virtuous by Act of Parliament, either sink into desuetude or are formally abandoned." Speaking of England he says: "Thus much, however, is patent and so far as our own country is concerned is proudly avowed. Provinces of action once formally occupied by law have been abandoned to anarchy."* Applied to India the questions asked by the great historian ought to form the basis of its true evolution, while the danger that he warns against is also a danger which the present state of its religion points out as being a serious danger and one that cannot be too carefully guarded against.

Even more than in England, in India the evils of the modern system of education in sending out every year a number of helpless men, possessing neither skill nor knowledge sufficient to earn a decent livelihood, and making them unfit for the life in which they were born and unfit to raise themselves to a better one, are acknowledged on all hands. "Intellectual emancipation if it does not give us at the same time control over ourselves is poisonous," so said Goethe; and the remark is perhaps truer of the products of modern education in India than in England. There, the country gentleman, the landed aristocrat of old with his virtue and defects, according to Froude the absentee landlord, is becoming unmindful of his obligations to his tenants and dependents, and mindful of his own luxury. In India also, he is becoming so, but with the addition of a heavy load of debt upon his shoulders. Instead of laying out his money in improving his estates, the Indian landlord of to-day often invests it in articles of luxury which his predecessors never dreamt of, or in unmeaning shows. His tenant, who is following him in these respects so far as his own means and the credit he can command allow, is also running a course of life which would have made his predecessors look aghast. Instead of feeling that the ground is hollow under him, wrestling with uncertainties and recoiling from the blank prospect before him as a ritualist of to-day does in England, the Indian ritualist is content to accept his ritual without caring to

* Froude's *Short Studies on Great Subjects*, Vol. II., page 380.

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inquire if it has any and if so a living significance. Thus while the evolution of India, though it may take long to come, is sure to come, if the present peaceful times will, as every Indian ought to hope to, continue, the direction that reform shall have to take will not only be political but physical, mental, moral and religious also. Without these no true progress is possible. With pain and sorrow one notices the contempt with which modern Indian reformers affect to treat things which they so little understand. With a little knowledge of Europe and less of India they affect to despise its people and institutions even more than any foreigners do. To them the Hindu's many virtues, which have won universal admiration, his charity of disposition, his kindness to all that lives, his simplicity of character have nothing to excite admiration. Only he does not possess qualities which they think he ought to in order to rise; and they think him to be doomed to remain where he is.

It may perhaps interest them to be told that those whom they imitate have more respect for the Indian's arts, his learning, his institutions and his religion. How many of us who admire the Crystal Palace of London, the Cathedral of Milan, St Peter's at Rome, the Grand Opera of Paris or the magnificent scenery of Lucerne have also seen the Taj at Agra, the splendid palaces of Fatehpur Sikri, the fountains of Dig, or have roamed through Himalayan scenery, or the vast and varied beauties of places like Ceylon, Cashmere, etc. If England is rich in results of modern arts, India's buried treasures are richer still. Latin, Greek or English will unfold many a hidden treasure when accompanied with a knowledge of Eastern languages. The arts and literature of Europe will be studied with greater advantage if a knowledge of Eastern arts and literature is brought to bear upon them. The good qualities of the European will be all the more keenly appreciated if we know our own position. The religions of Western countries and the philosophy of Western countries and the philosophy of Western philosophers will derive additional interest from a knowledge of Eastern religions and philosophy. Kant, Hegel or Schoppenhaur are nothing more than Western Vedantists, and a knowledge of

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the Upanishads of the Hindus will add greatly to the pleasure of studying German philosophy. The tide of evolution is not destined only to roll Westwards. The East gave light to the West in ancient days. Let it now take such light as it needs from the West and add to it so much of its own as is necessary to advance with the times. Ancient India realized the true meaning of life even more widely than modern Europe does. Let modern India realize the true meaning of life, of that life which it is and will be its lot to lead.

END.

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ERRATA.

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Page	Line				
9	26	For	Montesquieu	Read	Montesquieu
10	28	„	great a charm	„	a great charm
14	19	„	found	„	fond
16	14	„	*Musèe de Clung*	„	*Musèe de Cluny.*
16	24	„	Serbonne	„	*Sorbonne*
17	29	„	port	„	fort
18	33	„	singing	„	signing
23	29-30	„	to to	„	to
28	22	„	word	„	world
28	29-30	„	of of	„	of
30	37	„	make,	„	make (*omit comma*).
31	4	„	spends	„	spend
35	26	„	it	„	its
39	31	„	tree	„	trees
42	3	„	show	„	shows
42	12-13	„	to to	„	to
43	35	„	in	„	is
44	29	„	is it	„	it is
47	7	„	*pulas*	„	*pulao*
51	13	„	Elizabethian	„	Elizabethan
53	10	„	caste	„	cast
58	18	„	attends	„	attend
66	12	„	of it	„	of its
66	24	„	responsibitities	„	responsibilities.
67	12	„	Locqueville	„	Tocqueville
67	Note	„	Locqueville's	„	Tocqueville's
92	4	„	Justice MacCarthy	„	Justin MacCarthy
95	30	„	draught	„	drought
98	9	„	improves to their	„	improves their
101	5-6	„	they they	„	they
104	29	„	Caryle	„	Carlyle
105	26	„	know himsself	„	know himself
106	17	„	of	„	or
107	Note	„	Essay Liberty	„	Essay on Liberty
108	33	„	the its	„	its (*omit* 'the')

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Page	Line				
109	1	*For*	critise	*Read*	criticise
109	29	,,	have have	,,	have
111	28	,,	has	,,	have
114	34	,,	Kiraka	,,	Tirata
115	22	,,	Kalur	,,	Kabir
116	19	,,	Altaf Husain Hale	,,	Altaf Husain Hali
116	32	,,	inconvience	,,	inconvenience
123	22	,,	decomes	,,	becomes
128	38	,,	partizan	,,	partizans
134	7	,,	be	,,	lie
140	20	,,	in which	,,	which (omit 'in')
142	24-25	,,	commerical	,,	commercial
152	6	,,	refuse	,,	refused
153	9	,,	Commerce in,	,,	Commerce in (*omit* ',')
155	23	,,	now it not so	,,	now it is not so
160	20	,,	house-life	,,	home-life
163	2	,,	had	,,	has
170	14	,,	feet, everywhere	,,	feet everywhere,
170	18-19	,,	preformance	,,	performance
171	36	,,	desciples	,,	disciples
172	Note	,,	32	,,	321.
178	27	,,	does	,,	and does
184	17	,,	claim to the	,,	claim to be the
185	1	,,	it	,,	it is
187	19-20	,,	of of	,,	of
187	22	,,	mythical;	,,	mythical,
187	25	,,	night-grown	,,	night-gown
189	12	,,	Gury's Cliff	,,	Guy's Cliff
189	29	,,	quite	,,	quiet
194	10	,,	gilted	,,	gilded
194	13	,,	in now	,,	is now
198	12	,,	which,	,,	——— (omit 'which,')
205	23	,,	Carlton Hill	,,	Calton Hill
208	11-12	,,	hypochondrical	,,	hypochondriacal
216	7	,,	feet and long	,,	feet long
227	22	,,	*jamanand*	,,	*jaman*

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